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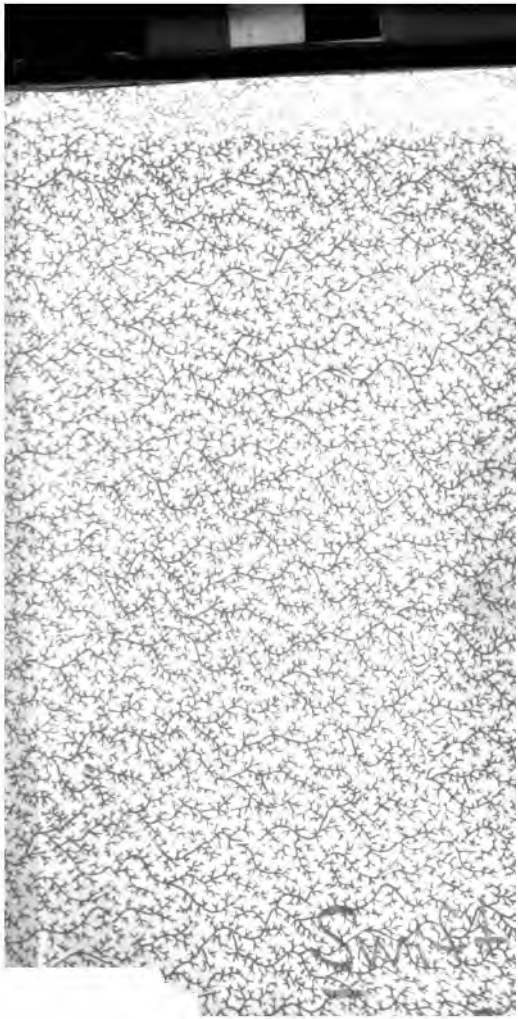

MISCELLANIES.

By Dr. *SWIFT.*

Vol. III.

THE

WORKS

OF

Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT,
Dean of St. *Patrick*'s *Dublin*.

VOL. III.

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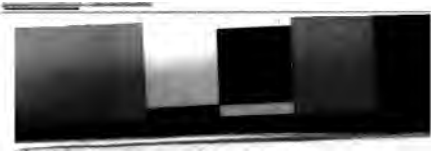

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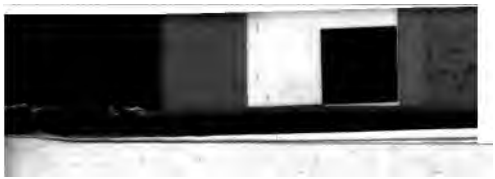

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gar

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* This is the only piece in this volume which was not written by Dr. *Swift*.

PREFACE

PREFACE.

THE Papers that compoſe the firſt of theſe volumes were printed about eighteen years ago, to which there are now added two or three ſmall tracts; and the verſes are tranſferred into the fourth volume apart, with the addition of ſuch others as we ſince have written. The ſecond and third will conſiſt of ſeveral ſmall treatiſes in proſe, in which a friend or two is concerned with us.

Having both of us been extremely ill treated by ſome bookſellers, eſpecially one *Edmund Curll*, it was our opinion that the beſt method we could take for juſtifying ourſelves, would be to publiſh whatever looſe papers, in proſe and verſe, we have formerly written; not only ſuch as have already ſtolen into the world (very much to our regret, and perhaps very little to our credit) but ſuch, as in any probability hereafter may run the ſame fate; having been obtained from us by the importunity, and divulged by the indiſcretion of friends, although reſtrained by promiſes, which few of them are ever known to obſerve, and often think they make us a compliment in breaking.

But the conſequences have been ſtill worſe: We have been intitled, and have had our names prefixed at length, to whole volumes of mean productions, equally offenſive to good manners and good ſenſe, which we never ſaw nor heard of till they appeared in print.

For a *forgery* in ſetting a falſe name to a writing, which may prejudice another's for-

tune, the law puniſhes the offender with t
loſs of his *ears*; but has inflicted no adequa
penalty for ſuch, as prejudice another's r
putation in doing the ſame thing in prin
though all and every individual book, ſo ſo
under a falſe name, are manifeſtly ſo ma
ſeveral and multiplied forgeries.

Indeed we hoped, that the good nature,
at leaſt the good judgment of the worl
would have cleared us from the imputation
ſuch things, as had been thus charged upo
us by the malice of enemies, the want
judgment of friends, the unconcern of indi
ferent perſons, and the confident aſſertions
bookſellers.

We are aſhamed to find ſo ill a taſte pr
vail, as to make it a neceſſary work to do th
juſtice to ourſelves. It is very poſſible fo
any author to write below himſelf; either h
ſubject not proving ſo fruitful, or fitted fo
him, as he at firſt imagined; or his healt
or his humour, or the preſent diſpoſition o
his mind, unqualifying him at that junćture
However, if he poſſeſſed any diſtinguiſhin
marks of ſtyle, or peculiarity of thinking
there would remain in his leaſt ſucceſsful wri
tings ſome few tokens, whereby perſons o
taſte might diſcover him.

But, ſince it hath otherwiſe fallen out, w
think we have ſufficiently paid for our wan
of prudence, and determine for the future t
be leſs communicative: Or rather, havin
done with ſuch amuſements, we are reſolve
to give up what we cannot fairly diſown, t

the ſeverity of critics, the malice of perſonal enemies, and the indulgence of friends.

We are ſorry for the ſatire interſperſed in ſome of theſe pieces upon a few people, from whom the higheſt provocations have been received, and who by their conduct ſince have ſhewn, that they have not yet forgiven us the wrong they did. It is a very unlucky circumſtance to be obliged to retaliate the injuries of ſuch authors, whoſe works are ſo ſoon forgotten, that we are in danger already of appearing the firſt aggreſſors. It is to be lamented, that *Virgil* let paſs a line, which told poſterity he had two enemies called *Bavius* and *Mævius*. The wiſeſt way is not once to name them, but (as the madman adviſed the gentleman, who told him he wore a ſword to kill his enemies) *to let them alone and they will die of themſelves*. And according to this rule we have acted throughout all thoſe writings, which we deſigned for the preſs: but in theſe, the publication whereof was not owing to our folly, but that of others, the omiſſion of the names was not in our power. At the worſt, we can only give them that liberty now for ſomething, which they have ſo many years exerciſed for nothing, of railing and ſcribling againſt us. And it is ſome commendation, that we have not done it all this while, but avoided publicly to characteriſe any perſon without long experience. *Nonum prematur in annum* is a good rule for all writers of characters; becauſe it may happen to thoſe, who vent praiſe or cenſure too precipi-

[illegible] Eng[illegible]
[illegible] man for
[illegible] ie, w
[illegible] by
[illegible] we
[illegible] or
[illegible] had not
[illegible] of hono
[illegible] deserve
[illegible] learning.

W[illegible] mo
[illegible] the same
[illegible] of our li
[illegible] we wer
[illegible] which we
[illegible] Some fall
[illegible] to youth, su
[illegible] to be th
[illegible] others to th
[illegible] of these, w
[illegible] and without our con
[illegible] a greater injury, than that o
[illegible] the most stupid production
we can wholly deny.

This has been usually practised
countries after a man's decease; which
measure accounts for that manifest
found in the works of the best auth
collectors only considering, that so m
sheets raise the price of the book;
greater fame a writer is in possessio
more of such trash he may bear to ha

to him. Thus it is apparently the editor's intereſt to inſert what the author's judgment had rejected; and care is always taken to interſperſe theſe additions in ſuch a manner, that ſcarce any book of conſequence can be bought, without purchaſing ſomething unworthy of the author along with it.

But in our own country it is ſtill worſe: Thoſe very bookſellers, who have ſupported themſelves upon an author's fame while he lived, have done their utmoſt after his death to leſſen it by ſuch practices: Even a man's laſt *will* is not ſecure from being expoſed in print; whereby his moſt particular regards, and even his dying tenderneſſes are laid open. It has been humorouſly ſaid, that ſome have fiſhed the very jakes for papers left there by men of wit: But it is no jeſt to affirm, that the cabinets of the ſick, and the cloſets of the dead, have been broke open and ranſacked to publiſh our *private letters*, and divulge to all mankind the moſt ſecret ſentiments and intercourſe of friendſhip. Nay, theſe fellows are arrived to that height of impudence, that, when an author has publicly diſowned a ſpurious piece, they have diſputed his own name with him in printed advertiſements; which has been practiſed to Mr. *Congreve* and Mr. *Prior*.

We are therefore compelled, in reſpect to truth, to ſubmit to a very great hardſhip; to own ſuch pieces, as in our ſtricter judgments we would have ſuppreſſed for ever: We are obliged to confeſs, that this whole collection, in a manner, conſiſts of what we not only

thought unlikely to reach the future, but unworthy even of the *preſent* age; not our ſtudies, but our follies; not our works, but our idleneſſes.

Some comfort however it is, that all of them are innocent, and moſt of them, ſlight as they are, had yet a moral tendency; either to ſoften the virulence of parties againſt each other; or to laugh out of countenance ſome vice or folly of the time; or to diſcredit the impoſitions of quacks and falſe pretenders to ſcience; or to humble the arrogance of the ill-natured and envious; in a word, to leſſen the *vanity*, and promote the *good humour* of mankind.

Such as they are, we muſt in truth confeſs, they are *ours*, and others ſhould in juſtice believe, they are *all* that are *ours*. If any thing elſe has been printed, in which we really had any hand, it is either intolerably imperfect, or loaded with ſpurious additions; ſometimes even with inſertions of mens names, which we never meant, and for whom we have an eſteem and reſpect. Even thoſe pieces, in which we are leaſt injured, have never before been printed from the true copies, or with any tolerable degree of correctneſs. We declare, that this collection contains every piece, which in the idleſt humour we have written; not only ſuch, as came under our review or correction; but many others, which however unfiniſhed, are not now in our power to ſuppreſs. Whatſoever was in our own poſſeſſion at the publiſhing hereof, or of which no copy was

ne abroad, we have actually deſtroyed, to
vent all poſſibility of the like treatment.
Theſe volumes likewiſe will contain all the
pers, wherein we have caſually had any
re; particularly thoſe written in conjunc-
n with our friends, Dr. *Arbuthnot* and Mr.
y; and laſtly, all this ſort compoſed ſingly
either of thoſe hands. The reader is there-
e deſired to do the ſame juſtice to theſe our
nds, as to us; and to be aſſured that all the
gs, called our *miſcellanies* (except the works
Alexander Pope, publiſhed by *B. Lintot*, in
rto, and *folio*, in 1717; thoſe of Mr. *Gay*
J. Tonſon, in *quarto*, in 1720; and as ma-
of theſe miſcellanies as have been formerly
nted by *Benj. Tooke*) are abſolutely ſpuri-
s, and without our conſent impoſed upon
public.

Twickenham, *May* 27, 1727.

JONAT. SWIFT.
ALEX. POPE.

THE following diſcourſe is a kind of remonſtrance in behalf of king *William* and his friends, againſt the proceedings of the houſe of commons; and was publiſhed during the receſs of parliament in the ſummer of 1701, with a view to engage them in milder meaſures when they ſhould meet again.

At this time *Lewis* XIV. was making large ſtrides towards univerſal monarchy; plots were carrying on at St. *Germains*; the *Dutch* had acknowledged the duke of *Anjou* as king of *Spain*, and king *William* was made extremely uneaſy by the violence with which many of his miniſters and chief favourites were purſued by the commons; the king, to appeaſe their reſentment, had made ſeveral changes in his miniſtry, and removed ſome of his moſt faithful ſervants from places of the higheſt truſt and dignity: this expedient, however, had proved ineffectual, and the commons perſiſted in their oppoſition; they began by impeaching *William Bentinck*, earl of *Portland*, groom of the ſtole; and proceeded to the impeachment of *John Somers*, baron *Somers* of *Eveſham*, firſt lord keeper, afterwards lord chancellor; *Edward Ruſſel*, earl of *Orford*, lord treaſurer of the navy, and one of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty; and *Charles Mountague*, earl of *Halifax*, one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and afterwards chancellor of the exchequer. Its general purport is to damp the warmth of the commons by ſhewing that the meaſures they purſued had a direct tendency to bring on the tyranny, which they profeſſed to oppoſe; and *the particular* caſes of the impeached lords are *paralleled in Athenian* characters.

A

DISCOURSE

OF THE

CONTESTS and DISSENTIONS

BETWEEN THE

NOBLES and the COMMONS

IN

ATHENS and ROME;

With the Conſequences they had upon both thoſe STATES.

——— *Si tibi vera videtur,*
Dede manus, & ſi falſa eſt, accingere contra.
LUCR.

Written in the Year 1701.

CHAP. I.

IT is agreed, that in all government there is an abſolute unlimited power, which naturally and originally ſeems to be placed in the whole body, wherever the executive part of it lies. This holds in the body natural; for wherever we place the beginning of motion, whether from the head, or the heart, or the animal ſpirits in general, the body

moves and acts by a consent of all its parts. This unlimited power, placed fundamentally in the body of a people, is what the best legislators of all ages have endeavoured, in their several schemes or institutions of government, to depositin such hands as would preserve the people from rapine and oppression within, as well as violence from without. Most of them seem to agree in this, that it was a trust too great to be committed to any one man or assembly, and therefore they left the right still in the whole body; but the administration or executive part in the hands of *the one*, the *few*, or the *many*, into which three powers all independent bodies of men seem naturally to divide; for by all I have read of those innumerable and petty commonwealths in *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Sicily*, as well as the great ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*, it seems to me, that a free people met together, whether by *compact*, or *family-government*, as soon as they fall into any acts of civil society, do of themselves divide into three powers. The first is that of some one eminent spirit, who, having signalised his valour and fortune in defence of his country, or by the practice of popular arts at home, comes to have great influence on the people, to grow their leader in warlike expeditions, and to preside, after a sort, in their civil assemblies; and this is grounded upon the principles of nature and common reason, which in all difficulties or dangers, where prudence or courage is required, do rather incite us to fly for counsel or assistance to a

single

ſingle perſon, than a multitude. The ſecond natural diviſion of power is of ſuch men, who have acquired large poſſeſſions, and conſequently dependencies, or deſcend from anceſtors who have left them great inheritances, together with an hereditary authority. Theſe eaſily uniting in thoughts and opinions, and acting in concert, begin to enter upon meaſures for ſecuring their properties, which are beſt upheld by preparing againſt invaſions from abroad, and maintaining peace at home; this commences a great council or ſenate of nobles for the weighty affairs of the nation. The laſt diviſion is of the people, whoſe part of power is great and indiſputable, whenever they can unite either collectively, or by deputation, to exert it. Now the three forms of government, ſo generally known in the ſchools, differ only by the civil adminiſtration being placed in the hands of one, or ſometimes two, (as in *Sparta)* who were called *kings*; or in a ſenate, who were called the *nobles*; or in the people collective or repreſentative, who may be called the *commons*. Each of theſe had frequently the executive power in *Greece*, and ſometimes in *Rome*: but the power in the laſt reſort was always meant by the legiſlators to be held in balance among all three. And it will be an eternal rule in politics among every free people, that there is a balance of power to be carefully held by every ſtate within itſelf, as well as among ſeveral ſtates with each other.

CONTESTS AND DISSENTIONS.

The true meaning of a balance of power, ither without or within a ſtate, is beſt conceived by conſidering, what the nature of a balance is. It ſuppoſes three things: Firſt, the part which held, together with the hand that holds it; and then the two ſcales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now conſider ſeveral ſtates in a neighbourhood; in order to preſerve peace between theſe ſtates, it is neceſſary they ſhould be formed into a balance, whereof one or more are to be directors, who are to divide the reſt into equal ſcales, and upon occaſion remove from one into the other, or elſe fall with their own weight into the lighteſt; ſo in a ſtate within itſelf, the balance muſt be held by a third hand, who is to deal the remaining power with the utmoſt exactneſs into the ſeveral ſcales. Now it is not neceſſary, that the power ſhould be equally divided between theſe three; for the balance may be held by the weakeſt, who, by his addreſs and conduct, removing from either ſcale and adding of his own, may keep the ſcales duly poiſed. Such was that of the two kings of *Sparta*, the conſular power in *Rome*, th: of the kings of *Media* before the reign of *C rus*, as repreſented by *Xenophon*; and th of the ſeveral limited ſtates in the *Gothic* i ſtitution.

When the balance is broken, whether the negligence, folly, or weakneſs of the h: that held it, or by weights fallen into ei: ſcale, the power will never continue lon: equal diviſion between the remaining par

but, till the balance is fixed anew, will run intirely into one. This gives the trueſt account of what is underſtood in the moſt antient and approved *Greek* authors by the word *Tyranny*, which is not meant for the ſeizing of the uncontrolled or abſolute power into the hands of a ſingle perſon, (as many ſuperficial men have groſly miſtaken) but for the breaking of the balance by whatever hand, and leaving the power wholly in one ſcale: For *tyranny* and *uſurpation* in a ſtate are by no means confined to any number, as might eaſily appear from examples enough; and, becauſe the point is material, I ſhall cite a few to prove it.

The * *Romans* having ſent to *Athens*, and the *Greek* cities of *Italy*, for the copies of the beſt laws, choſe ten legiſlators to put them into form, and, during the exerciſe of their office, ſuſpended the conſular power, leaving the adminiſtration of affairs in their hands. Theſe very men, though choſen for ſuch a work, as the digeſting a body of laws for the government of a free ſtate, did immediately uſurp arbitrary power: ran into all the forms of it, had their guards and ſpies after the practice of the tyrants of thoſe ages, affected kingly ſtate, deſtroyed the nobles, and oppreſſed the people; one of them proceeding ſo far, as to endeavour to force a lady of great virtue: the very crime, which gave occaſion to the expulſion of the regal power but ſixty years

* Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 10.

lay. And this laſt circumſtance, as caſes have lately ſtood, may perhaps be worth nothing.

From what hath been already advanced, ſeveral concluſions may be drawn:

Firſt, That a mixed government, partaking of the known forms received in the ſchools, is by no means of *Gothic* invention, but hath place in nature and reaſon, ſeems very well to agree with the ſentiment of legiſlators, and to have been followed in moſt ſtates, whether they have appeared under the name of monarchies, ariſtocracies, or democracies: for not to mention the ſeveral republics of this compoſition in *Gaul* and *Germany*, deſcribed by *Cæſar* and *Tacitus*; *Polybius* tells us, the beſt government is that, which conſiſts of three forms, * *regno, optimatium, & populi imperio*; which may be fairly tranſlated, the *king, lords*, and *commons*. Such was that of *Sparta*, in its primitive inſtitution by *Lycurgus*; who, obſerving the corruptions and depravations to which every of theſe was ſubject, compounded his ſcheme out of all; ſo that it was made up of *reges, ſeniores, & populus*. Such alſo was the ſtate of *Rome* under its conſuls: and the author tells us, that the *Romans* fell upon this model purely by chance, (which I take to have been nature and common reaſon) but the *Spartans* by thought and deſign. And ſuch at *Carthage* was the † *ſumma reipublicæ*, or power in the laſt reſort; for they had their kings

* Fragm. lib. 6. † Id. ib.

kings called *ſuffetes*, and a ſenate which had the power of *nobles*, and the *people* had a ſhare eſtabliſhed too.

Secondly, It will follow, That thoſe reaſoners, who employ ſo much of their zeal, their wit, and their leiſure for the upholding the balance of power in Chriſtendom, at the ſame time that by their practices they are endeavouring to deſtroy it at home, are not ſuch mighty patriots, or ſo much in the true intereſt of their country, as they would affect to be thought; but ſeem to be employed like a man, who pulls down with his right hand what he has been building with his left.

Thirdly, This makes appear the error of thoſe, who think it an uncontrollable maxim, that power is always ſafer lodged in many hands than in one: for, if theſe many hands be made up only from one of the three diviſions before-mentioned, it is plain from thoſe examples already produced, and eaſy to be paralleled in other ages and countries, that they are as capable of enſlaving the nation, and of acting all manner of tyranny and oppreſſion, as it is poſſible for a ſingle perſon to be, though we ſhould ſuppoſe their number not only to be of four or five hundred, but above three thouſand.

Again, It is manifeſt from what has been ſaid, that, in order to preſerve the balance in a mixed ſtate, the limits of power depoſited with each party ought to be aſcertained, and generally known. The defect of this is the cauſe, that introduces thoſe ſtrugglings in a

ſtate

ſtate about *prerogative* and *liberty*, about incroachments of the *few* upon the rights of the *many*, and of the *many* upon the privileges of the *few*, which ever did, and ever will conclude in a tyranny; firſt either of the *few*, or the *many*, but at laſt infallibly of a ſingle perſon: for, whichever of the three diviſions in a ſtate is upon the ſcramble for more power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is) unleſs due care can be taken by the other two, upon every new queſtion that ariſes, they will be ſure to decide in favour of themſelves, talk much of inherent right; they will nouriſh up a dormant power, and reſerve privileges *in petto*, to exert upon occaſions, to ſerve expedients, and to urge upon neceſſities; they will make large demands, and ſcanty conceſſions, ever coming off conſiderable gainers: thus at length the balance is broke, and tyranny let in; from which door of the three it matters not.

To pretend to a *declarative* right upon any occaſion whatſoever, is little leſs than to make uſe of the whole power; that is, to declare an opinion to be law, which has always been conteſted, or perhaps never ſtarted at all before ſuch an incident brought it on the ſtage. Not to conſent to the enacting of ſuch a law, which has no view beſides the general good, unleſs another law ſhall at the ſame time paſs, with no other view but that of advancing the power of one party alone; what is this but to claim a poſitive voice, as well as a negative?

gative? * To pretend that great changes and alienations of property have created new and great dependencies, and consequently new additions of power, as some reasoners have done, is a most dangerous tenet. If dominion must follow property, let it follow in the same pace; for change in property thro' the bulk of a nation makes slow marches, and its due power always attends it. To conclude, that whatever attempt is begun by an assembly, ought to be pursued to the end, without regard to the greatest incidents that may happen to alter the case: to count it mean, and below the *dignity of a house*, to quit a prosecution; to resolve upon a conclusion before it is possible to be apprised of the premisses: to act thus, I say, is to affect not only absolute power, but infallibility too. Yet such popular assemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due limits of *power* and *privilege*.

Great changes may indeed be made in a government, yet the form continue, and the balance be held: but large intervals of time must pass between every such innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a piece with the constitution. Such, we are told, were

* This seems to allude to a practice of the house of commons called *Tacking:* when they suspected that a favourite bill would be rejected, they tacked it to a money-bill; and as it was not possible to proceed without the supply, and as it became necessary to reject or receive both the bills thus tacked together, this *expedient perfectly* answered its purpose.

ONTESTS AND DISSENTIONS

:he proceedings of *Solon*, when he mo-
. anew the *Athenian* commonwealth;
/hat convulſions in our own, as well as
ſtates, have been bred by a neglect of
ule, is freſh and notorious enough: it
ſoon in conſcience to repeat this error

.

ving ſhewn, that there is a natural ba-
of power in all free ſtates, and how it
been divided, ſometimes by the people
:lves, as in *Rome*, at others by the in-
ions of the legiſlators, as in the ſeveral
of *Greece* and *Sicily*; the next thing is
tamine, what methods have been taken
reak or overthrow this balance, which
one of the three parties hath continu-
endeavoured, as opportunities have ſerv-
as might appear from the ſtories of moſt
and countries: for abſolute power in a
cular ſtate is of the ſame nature with
erſal monarchy in ſeveral ſtates adjoin-
:o each other. So endleſs and exorbitant
:he deſires of men, whether conſidered in
perſons or their ſtates, that they will
» at all, and can form no ſcheme of per-
happineſs with leſs. Ever ſince men have
united into governments, the hopes and
:avours after univerſal monarchy have
. bandied among them, from the reign
linus to this of the *moſt chriſtian king*; in
:h purſuits commonwealths have had their
: as well as monarchs: ſo the *Athenians*,
Spartans, the *Thebans*, and the *Achaians*,
ſeveral times aim at the univerſal monar-

chy

chy of *Greece*: ſo the commonwealths of *Carthage* and *Rome* affected the univerſal monarchy of the then known world. In like manner hath abſolute power been purſued by the ſeveral parties of each particular ſtate: wherein ſingle perſons have met with moſt ſucceſs, tho' the endeavours of the *few* and the *many* have been frequent enough: yet being neither ſo uniform in their deſigns, nor ſo direct in their views, they neither could manage nor maintain the power they had got; but were ever deceived by the popularity and ambition of ſome ſingle perſon. So that it will be always a wrong ſtep in policy, for the *nobles* or *commons* to carry their endeavours after power ſo far, as to overthrow the balance; and it would be enough to damp their warmth in ſuch purſuits, if they could once reflect, that in ſuch a courſe they will be ſure to run upon the very rock, that they meant to avoid; which, I ſuppoſe, they would have us think, is the tyranny of a ſingle perſon.

Many examples might be produced of the endeavours of each of theſe three rivals after abſolute power; but I ſhall ſuit my diſcourſe to the time I am writing in, and relate only ſuch diſſentions in *Greece* and *Rome*, between the *nobles* and *commons*, with the conſequences of them, wherein the latter were the aggreſſors.

I ſhall begin with *Greece*, where my obſervations ſhall be confined to *Athens*, though ſeveral inſtances might be brought from other ſtates thereof.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the diſſentions in Athens, *between the few and the* many.

THESEUS is the firſt, who is recorded with any appearance of truth to have brought the *Grecians* from a barbarous manner of life, among ſcattered villages, into cities; and to have eſtabliſhed the *popular ſtate* in *Athens*, aſſigning to himſelf the guardianſhip of the laws and chief command in war. He was forced after ſome time to leave the *Athenians* to their own meaſures upon account of their ſeditious tempers, which ever continued with them, till the final diſſolution of their government by the *Romans*. It ſeems, the country about *Attica* was the moſt barren of any in *Greece*; through which means it happened, that the natives were never expelled by the fury of invaders, (who thought it not worth a conqueſt) but continued always *Aborigines*; and therefore retained through all revolutions a tincture of that turbulent ſpirit, wherewith their government began. This inſtitution of *Theſeus* appears to have been rather a ſort of mixed monarchy, than a popular ſtate, and, for aught we know, might continue ſo during the ſeries of kings till the death of *Codrus*. From this laſt prince *Solon* was ſaid to be deſcended; who, finding the people engaged in two violent factions of the poor and the rich, and in great confuſion

ſion thereupon; refuſing the monarchy, which was offered him, choſe rather to caſt the government after another model, wherein he made due proviſions for ſettling the balance of power, chuſing a ſenate of four hundred, and diſpoſing the magiſtracies and offices according to men's eſtates; leaving to the multitude their votes in electing, and the power of judging certain proceſſes by appeal. This council of four hundred was choſen, one hundred out of each tribe, and ſeems to have been a body repreſentative of the people; though the people collective reſerved a ſhare of power to themſelves. It is a point of hiſtory perplexed enough; but thus much is certain, that the balance of power was provided for; elſe *Piſiſtratus*, called by authors the tyrant of *Athens*, could never have governed ſo peaceably, as he did, * without changing any of *Solon*'s laws. Theſe ſeveral powers, together with that of the *archon* or chief magiſtrate, made up the form of government in *Athens*, at what time it began to appear upon the ſcene of action and ſtory.

The firſt great man bred up under this inſtitution was *Miltiades*, who lived about ninety years after *Solon*, and is reckoned to have been the firſt great captain, not only of *Athens*, but of all *Greece*. From the time of *Miltiades* to that of *Phocion*, who is looked upon as the laſt famous general of *Athens*, are about 130 years: after which they were ſubdued and inſulted

* *Herodot.* lib. 1.

inſulted by *Alexander*'s captains, and continued under ſeveral revolutions a ſmall truckling ſtate, of no name or reputation, till they fell with the reſt of *Greece* under the power of the *Romans*.

During this period from *Miltiades* to *Phocion*, I ſhall trace the conduct of the *Athenians* with relation to their diſſentions between the people and ſome of their generals; who at that time, by their power and credit in the army, in a warlike commonwealth, and often ſupported by each other, were with the magiſtrates and other civil officers a ſort of counterpoiſe to the power of the people, who ſince the death of *Solon* had already made great incroachments. What theſe diſſentions were, how founded, and what the conſequences of them, I ſhall briefly and impartially relate.

I muſt here premiſe, that the *nobles* in *Athens* were not at this time a corporate aſſembly, that I can gather; therefore the reſentments of the commons were uſually turned againſt particular perſons, and by way of articles of impeachment. Whereas the commons in *Rome*, and ſome other ſtates, as will appear in a proper place, though they followed this method upon occaſion, yet generally purſued the enlargement of their power by more ſet quarrels of one intire aſſembly againſt another. However, the cuſtom of particular impeachments being not limited to former ages, any more than that of general ſtruggles and diſſentions between fixed aſſemblies of nobles

nobles and commons, and the ruin of *Greece* having been owing to the former, as that of *Rome* was to the latter, I ſhall treat on both expreſly; that thoſe ſtates who are concerned in either (if at leaſt there be any ſuch now in the world) may, by obſerving the means and iſſues of former diſſentions, learn whether the cauſes are alike in theirs; and, if they find them to be ſo, may conſider whether they ought not juſtly to apprehend the ſame effects.

To ſpeak of every particular perſon impeached by the commons of *Athens* within the compaſs deſigned, would introduce the hiſtory of almoſt every great man they had among them: I ſhall therefore take notice only of ſix, who living in that period of time when *Athens* was at the height of its glory, as indeed it could not be otherwiſe while ſuch hands were at the helm, though *impeached for high crimes and miſdemeanors*, ſuch as *bribery, arbitrary proceedings, miſapplying or embezzling public funds, ill conduct at ſea*, and the like, were honoured and lamented by their country, as the preſervers of it, and have had the veneration of all ages ſince paid juſtly to their memories.

Miltiades was one of the *Athenian* generals againſt the *Perſian* power, and the famous victory at *Marathon* was chiefly owing to his valour and conduct. Being ſent ſome time after to reduce the iſland *Paros*, he miſtook a great fire at a diſtance for the fleet, and, being no ways a match for them, ſet ſail for

ate uſe. He had been a perſon of great vings from the republic, was an *admi- e ſpeaker*, and very popular. *His accounts e confuſed, and he could not then give them* therefore merely to divert that difficulty, l the conſequences of it, he was forced to gage his country in the *Peloponneſian* war, e longeſt that was known in *Greece*, and hich ended in the ruin of *Athens*.

The ſame people, having reſolved to ſubdue *icily*, ſent a mighty fleet under the command of *Nicias*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Alcibiades*; the two former perſons of age and experience; the laſt a young man of noble birth, excellent education, and a plentiful fortune. A little before the fleet ſet ſail, it ſeems one night the ſtone-images of *Mercury*, placed in ſeveral parts of the city, were all pared in the face; this action the *Athenians* interpreted for a deſign of deſtroying the popular ſtate; and *Alcibiades*, having been formerly noted for the like frolicks and excurſions, was immediately accuſed of this. He, whether conſcious o his innocence, or aſſured of the ſecreſy, offered to come to his tryal before he went to h command; this the *Athenians* refuſed. Br

moured indignation at ſeeing his friend preferred himſelf neglected, concludes an epiſtle written in year 1698, to Fleetwood Shepherd, Eſq; with t three lines:

My friend *Charles Mountague*'s preferr'd,
Nor would I have it long obſerv'd
That one *mouſe* eats while *t'other*'s ſtarv'd

Our

as ſoon as he was got to *Sicily*, they ſent for him back, deſigned to take the advantage, and proſecute him in the abſence of his friends, and of the army, where he was very powerful. It ſeems, he underſtood the reſentments of a popular aſſembly too well to truſt them; and therefore, inſtead of returning, eſcaped to *Sparta*; where his deſires of revenge prevailing over his love for his country, he became its greateſt enemy. Mean while the *Athenians* before *Sicily*, by the death of one commander, and the ſuperſtition, weakneſs, and perfect ill conduct of the other, were utterly deſtroyed, the whole fleet taken, and a miſerable ſlaughter made of the army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this *Alcibiades* was recalled upon his own conditions by the neceſſities of the people, and made chief commander at ſea and land; but his lieutenant engaging againſt his poſitive orders, and being beaten by *Lyſander*, *Alcibiades* was again diſgraced, and baniſhed. However, the *Athenians* having loſt all ſtrength and heart ſince their misfortune at *Sicily*, and now deprived of the only perſon that was able to recover their loſſes, repent of their raſhneſs, and endeavour in vain for his reſtoration; the *Perſian* lieutenant, to whoſe protection he fled, making him a ſacrifice to the reſentments of *Lyſander* the general of the *Lacedemonians*, who now reduces all the dominions of the *Athenians*, takes the city, razes their walls, ruins their works, and changes the form of their government; which though

in reſtored for ſome time by *Thraſybulus*; their walls were rebuilt by *Conon*) yet re we muſt date the fall of the *Athenian* eatneſs; the dominion and chief power in *reece* from that period to the time of *Alexander the Great*, which was about fifty years, eing divided between the *Spartans* and *Thebans*. Though *Philip*, *Alexander*'s father (*the moſt chriſtian king* of that age) had indeed ſome time before begun to break in upon the republics of *Greece* by conqueſt or *bribery*; particularly *dealing large money among ſome popular orators*, by which he brought many of them, as the term of art was then, to *Philippize*.

In the time of *Alexander* and his captains, the *Athenians* were offered an opportunity o recovering their liberty, and being reſtored t their former ſtate; but the wiſe turn the thought to give the matter, was by an im peachment and ſacrifice of the author, to hi der the ſucceſs. For, after the deſtruction *Thebes* by *Alexander*, this prince deſigning conqueſt of *Athens* was prevented by * *P cion* the *Athenian* general, then ambaſſa from that ſtate; who by his great wiſdom ſkill at negotiations diverted *Alexander* f his deſign, and reſtored the *Athenians* t favour. The very ſame ſucceſs he had *Antipater* after *Alexander*'s death, at time the government was new regulat *Solon*'s laws: But *Polyperchon*, in hat

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* The earl of *Portland*. ORRERY.

Phocion, having by order of the young king, whoſe governor he was, reſtored thoſe whom *Phocion* had baniſhed, the plot ſucceeded. *Phocion* was accuſed by popular orators, and put to death.

Thus was the moſt powerful commonwealth of all *Greece*, after great degeneracies from the inſtitution of *Solon*, utterly deſtroyed by that raſh, jealous, and inconſtant humour of the people, which was never ſatisfied to ſee a general either *victorious* or *unfortunate*; ſuch ill judges, as well as rewarders, have *popular aſſemblies* been, of thoſe who beſt deſerved from them.

Now the circumſtance, which makes theſe examples of more importance, is, that this very power of the people in *Athens*, claimed ſo confidently for an *inherent right*, and inſiſted on as the *undoubted privilege of an* Athenian *born*, was the rankeſt incroachment imaginable, and the groſſeſt degeneracy from the form that *Solon* left them. In ſhort, their government was grown into a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the people*, who by degrees had broke and overthrown the balance, which that legiſlator had very well fixed and provided for. This appears not only from what has been already ſaid of that law-giver, but more manifeſtly from a paſſage in *Diodorus*; who tells us, * *That* Antipater, *one of* Alexander's *captains, abrogated the popular government (in* Athens) *and reſtored the power of*

* Lib. 18.

rages and magiſtracy to ſuch only, as were h two thouſand drachmas; by which means, he, *that republic came to be* [*again*] *ad-ſtered by the laws of* Solon. By this quo-on it is manifeſt that great author looked n *Solon*'s inſtitution, and popular govern-nt, to be two different things. And, as this reſtoration by *Antipater*, it had nei-er conſequence nor continuance worth ob-ving.

I might eaſily produce many more exam-les, but theſe are ſufficient: and it may be worth the reader's time to reflect a little on the merits of the cauſe, as well as of the men, who had been thus dealt with by their coun-try. I ſhall direct him no further than by repeating, that *Ariſtides* was the moſt renown-ed by the people themſelves for his exact *juſ-tice and knowledge in the law*; that *Themiſto-cles* was a moſt fortunate admiral, and had got a *mighty victory over the great king of* Per-ſia's *fleet*; that *Pericles* was an *able miniſter of ſtate, an excellent orator, and a man of let-ters:* and laſtly, that *Phocion*, beſides th ſucceſs of his arms, was alſo renowned fc his *negotiations abroad, having in an emba brought the greateſt monarch of the world that time to the terms of an honourable peace, which his country was preſerved.*

I ſhall conclude my remarks upon *Atl* with the character given us of that people *Polybius*. *About this time*, ſays he, *the A* nians *were governed by two men; quite in their affairs; had little or no commerce*

the reſt of Greece, *and were become great reverencers of crowned heads.*

For, from the time of *Alexander*'s captains till *Greece* was ſubdued by the *Romans*, to the latter part of which this deſcription of *Polybius* falls in, *Athens* never produced one famous man either for councils or arms, or hardly for learning. And indeed it was a dark inſipid period through all *Greece*: for except the *Achaian* league under *Aratus* and *Philopœmen*, and the endeavours of *Agis* and *Cleomenes* to reſtore the ſtate of *Sparta*, ſo frequently harraſſed by tyrannies occaſioned by the popular practices of the *ephori*, there was very little worth recording. All which conſequences may perhaps be juſtly imputed to this degeneracy of *Athens*.

CHAP. III.

Of the diſſentions between the patricians and plebeians in Rome, *with the conſequences they had upon that ſtate.*

HAving in the foregoing chapter confined myſelf to the proceedings of the commons only by the method of *impeachments* againſt particular perſons, with the fatal effects they had upon the ſtate of *Athens*, I ſhall now treat of the diſſentions at *Rome* between the people and the collective body of the *patricians* or nobles. It is a large ſubject, but I ſhall draw it into as narrow a compaſs as I can.

As *Greece*, from the moſt antient accounts we have of it, was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, ſo was moſt part of *Italy* * into ſeveral petty commonwealths. And as thoſe kings in *Greece* are ſaid to have been depoſed by their people upon the ſcore of their arbitrary proceedings, ſo on the contrary the commonwealths of *Italy* were all ſwallowed up, and concluded in the tyranny of the *Roman* emperors. However, the differences between thoſe *Grecian* monarchies, and *Italian* republics, were not very great: for, by the accounts *Homer* gives us of thoſe *Grecian* princes who came to the ſiege of *Troy*, as well as by ſeveral paſſages in the *Odyſſes*, it is manifeſt, that the power of theſe princes in their ſeveral ſtates was much of a ſize with that of the kings in *Sparta*, the archon at *Athens* the ſuffetes at *Carthage*, and the conſuls in *Rome*: ſo that a limited and divided power ſeems to have been the moſt antient and inherent principle of both thoſe people in matters of government. And ſuch did that of *Rome* continue from the time of *Romulus*, though with ſome interruptions, to *Julius Cæſar*, when it ended in the tyranny of a ſingle perſon. During which period (not many years longer than from the *Norman* conqueſt to our age) the commons were growing by degrees into power and property, gaining ground on the patricians, as it were, inch by inch, till at laſt they quite overturned the balan-

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* Dionyſ. Halicar.

leaving all doors open to the practices of popular and ambitious men, who deſtroyed the wiſeſt republic, and enſlaved the nobleſt people that ever entered upon the ſtage of the world. By what ſteps and degrees this was brought to paſs, ſhall be the ſubject of my preſent inquiry.

While *Rome* was governed by kings, the monarchy was altogether elective. *Romulus* himſelf, when he had built the city, was declared king by the univerſal conſent of the people, and by augury, which was there underſtood for *divine appointment*. Among other diviſions he made of the people, one was into *patricians* and *plebeians*: the former were like the barons of *England* ſome time after the conqueſt; and the latter are alſo deſcribed to be almoſt exactly what our commons were then. For they were dependants upon the patricians, whom they choſe for their patrons and protectors, to anſwer for their appearance, and defend them in any proceſs: they alſo ſupplied their patrons with money in exchange for their protection. This cuſtom of *patronage*, it ſeems, was very antient, and long practiſed among the *Greeks*.

Out of theſe patricians *Romulus* choſe an hundred to be a *ſenate*, or *grand council*, for advice and aſſiſtance to him in the adminiſtration. The ſenate therefore originally conſiſted all of *nobles*, and were of themſelves a *ſtanding council*, the *people* being only convoked upon ſuch occaſions, as by this inſtitution of *Romulus* fell into their cognizance: thoſe

thoſe were to conſtitute magiſtrates, to give their votes for making laws, and to adviſe upon entering on a war. But the two former of theſe popular privileges were to be confirmed by authority of the ſenate; and the laſt was only permitted at the king's pleaſure. This was the utmoſt extent of power pretended to by the *commons* in the time of *Romulus*; all the reſt being divided between the king and the ſenate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the conſtitution of *England* for ſome centuries after the conqueſt.

After a year's *inter-regnum* from the death of *Romulus* the ſenate of their own authority choſe a ſucceſſor, and a ſtranger, merely upon the fame of his virtue, without aſking the conſent of the commons; which cuſtom they likewiſe obſerved in the two following kings. But in the election of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, the fifth king, we firſt hear mentioned, that it was done *populi impetratâ veniâ*; which indeed was but very reaſonable for a free people to expect; though I cannot remember, in my little reading, by what incidents they were brought to advance ſo great a ſtep. However it were, this prince in gratitude to the people, by whoſe conſent he was choſen, elected a hundred ſenators out of the commons, whoſe number, with former additions, was now amounted to three hundred.

The people, having once diſcovered their own ſtrength, did ſoon take occaſion to exert it, and that by very great degrees. For at this king's death, who was murdered by the ſons

ſons of a former, being at a loſs for a ſucceſſor, *Servius Tullius*, a ſtranger, and of mean extraction, was choſen protector of the kingdom by the *people*, without the conſent of the ſenate; at which the nobles being diſpleaſed, he wholly applied himſelf to gratify the commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer protector, but king.

This prince firſt introduced the cuſtom of giving freedom to ſervants, ſo as to become citizens of equal privileges with the reſt, which very much contributed to increaſe the power of the *people*.

Thus in a very few years the commons proceeded ſo far, as to wreſt even the power of chuſing a king intirely out of the hands of the nobles; which was ſo great a leap, and cauſed ſuch a convulſion and ſtruggle in the ſtate, that the conſtitution could not bear it; but civil diſſentions aroſe, which immediately were followed by the tyranny of a ſingle perſon, as this was by the utter ſubverſion of the regal government, and by a ſettlement upon a new foundation. For the nobles, ſpited at this indignity done them by the commons, firmly united in a body, depoſed this prince by plain force, and choſe *Tarquin the Proud*, who, running into all the forms and methods of tyranny, after a cruel reign, was expelled by an univerſal concurrence of nobles and people, whom the miſeries of his reign had reconciled.

When the conſular government began, the balance of power between the nobles and ple-

beians was fixed anew: the two firſt conſuls were nominated by the nobles, and confirmed by the commons; and a law was enacted, That no perſon ſhould bear any magiſtracy in *Rome*, *injuſſu populi*, that is, without *conſent of the commons*.

In ſuch turbulent times as theſe, many poorer citizens had contracted numerous debts either to the richer ſort among themſelves, or to ſenators and other nobles: and the caſe of debtors in *Rome* for the firſt four * centuries was, after the ſet time for payment, no choice but either to pay or be the creditor's ſlave. In this juncture the commons leave the city in mutiny and diſcontent, and will not return but upon condition to be acquitted of all their debts; and moreover, that certain magiſtrates be choſen yearly, whoſe buſineſs it ſhall be to defend the commons from injuries. Theſe are called *tribunes* of the people, their perſons are held ſacred and inviolable, and the people bind themſelves by oath never to abrogate the office. By theſe tribunes, in proceſs of time, the people were groſly impoſed on to ſerve the turns and occaſions of revengeful or ambitious men, and to commit ſuch exorbitances as could not end, but in the diſſolution of the government.

Theſe tribunes, a year or two after their inſtitution, kindled great diſſentions between the nobles and the commons on the account of *Coriolanus*, a nobleman, whom the latter had

* *Ab Urbe* Condita. *From the building of the city.*

had *impeached*, and the conſequences of whoſe impeachment (if I had not confined myſelf to *Grecian* examples for that part of my ſubject) had like to have been ſo fatal to their ſtate. And from this time the tribunes began a cuſtom of accuſing to the people whatever nobles they pleaſed, ſeveral of whom were baniſhed or put to death in every age.

At this time the *Romans* were very much engaged in wars with their neighbouring ſtates; but upon the leaſt intervals of peace the quarrels between the nobles and plebeians would revive; and one of the moſt frequent ſubjects of their differences was the *conquered lands*, which the commons would fain have divided among the public; but the ſenate could not be brought to give their conſent. For ſeveral of the wiſeſt among the nobles began to apprehend the growing power of the people; and therefore, knowing what an acceſſion thereof would accrue to them by ſuch an addition of property, uſed all means to prevent it: for this the *Appian* family was moſt noted, and thereupon moſt hated by the commons. One of them, having made a ſpeech againſt this diviſion of lands, was impeached by the people of high treaſon, and a day appointed for his trial; but, diſdaining to make his defence, he choſe rather the uſual *Roman* remedy of killing himſelf; after whoſe death the commons prevailed, and the lands were divided among them.

This point was no ſooner gained, but new diſſentions began; for the plebeians would

fain have a law enacted to lay all mens rights and privileges upon the ſame level; and to enlarge the power of every magiſtrate within his own juriſdiction, as much as that of the conſuls. The tribunes alſo obtained to have their number doubled, which before was five: and the author tells us, * that their inſolence and power increaſed with their number, and the ſeditions were alſo doubled with it.

By the beginning of the fourth century from the building of *Rome*, the tribunes proceeded ſo far in the name of the commons, as to accuſe and fine the conſuls themſelves, who repreſented kingly power. And the ſenate obſerving, how in all contentions they were forced to yield to the tribunes and people, thought it their wiſeſt courſe to give way alſo to time; therefore a decree was made to ſend ambaſſadors to *Athens*, and to the other *Grecian* commonwealths planted in that part of *Italy* called *Græcia Major*, to make a collection of the beſt laws; out of which, and ſome of their own, a new compleat body of law was formed, afterwards known by the name of the *laws of the twelve tables*.

To digeſt theſe laws into order ten men were choſen, and the adminiſtration of all affairs left in their hands; what uſe they made of it has been already ſhewn. It was certainly a great revolution, produced intirely by the many unjuſt incroachments of the people; and might have wholly changed the fate of *Rome*, if the folly and vice of thoſe, who were

* Dionyſ. Halicar.

were chiefly concerned, could have ſuffered it to take root.

A few years after the commons made farther advances on the power of the nobles; demanding among the reſt that the conſulſhip, which hitherto had only been diſpoſed to the former, ſhould now lie in common to the pretenſions of any *Roman* whatſoever. This, though it failed at preſent, yet afterwards obtained, and was a mighty ſtep to the ruin of the commonwealth.

What I have hitherto ſaid of *Rome*, has been collected out of that exact and diligent writer *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, whoſe hiſtory, through the injury of time, reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth century after the building of *Rome*. The reſt I ſhall ſupply from other authors, though I do not think it neceſſary to reduce this matter any further ſo very particularly, as I have hitherto done.

To point at what time the balance of power was moſt equally held between the *lords* and *commons* in *Rome*, would perhaps admit a controverſy. * *Polybius* tells us, that in the ſecond *Punic* war the *Carthaginians* were declining, becauſe the balance was got too much on the ſide of the people; whereas the *Romans* were in their greateſt vigour by the power remaining in the ſenate: yet this was between two and three hundred years after the period of *Dionyſius* ends with; in which time the

* *Fragm. lib. 6.*

commons had made ſeveral further acquiſi-
tions. This however muſt be granted, tha
(till about the middle of the fourth century
when the ſenate appeared reſolute upon ex
erting their authority, and adhered cloſel
together, they did often carry their point.
Beſides, it is obſerved by the beſt authors
that in all the quarrels and tumults at *Rom*
from the expulſion of the kings, though th
people frequently proceeded to rude contume
lious language, and ſometimes ſo far as t
pull and haul one another about the *forum*
yet no blood was ever drawn in popular com
motions, till the time of the *Gracchi*: how
ever, I am of opinion, that the balance ha
begun many years before to lean to the po
pular ſide. But this default was corrected
partly by the principle juſt mentioned, o
never drawing blood in a tumult; partly b
the warlike genius of the people, which i
thoſe ages was almoſt perpetually employed
and partly by their great commanders, wh
by the credit they had in their armies fell int
the ſcales as a further counterpoiſe to th
growing power of the people. Beſides, *Pol
bius*, who lived in the time of *Scipio Afric
nus* the younger, had the ſame apprehenſio
of the continual incroachments made by t
commons; and being a perſon of as great
bilities, and as much ſagacity, as any of
age, from obſerving the corruptions, wh
he ſays, had already entered into the *Ro*

† Dionyſ. Hal. Plutarch, &c.

conſtitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the iſſue of them. His words are very remarkable, and with little addition may be rendered to this purpoſe: * *That thoſe abuſes and corruptions, which in time deſtroy a government, are ſown along with the very ſeeds of it, and both grow up together; and that as ruſt eats away iron, worms devour wood, and both are a ſort of plagues born and bred along with the ſubſtance they deſtroy; ſo, with every form and ſcheme of government that man can invent, ſome vice or corruption creeps in with the very inſtitution, which grows up along with, and at laſt deſtroys it.* † The ſame author in another place ventures ſo far as to gueſs at the particular fate, which would attend the *Roman* government. He ſays, its ruin would ariſe from the popular tumults, which would introduce a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the people; wherein it is certain he had reaſon, and therefore might have adventured to purſue his conjectures ſo far, as to the conſequences of a popular tyranny, which, as perpetual experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the arbitrary government of a ſingle perſon.

About the middle of the fourth century from the building of *Rome*, it was declared lawful for *nobles* and *plebeians* to intermarry; which cuſtom among many other ſtates has proved the moſt effectual means to ruin the former, and raiſe the latter.

* *Lib. 5.* † *Fragm. lib. 6.*

And now the greateſt employments in the ſtate were one after another, by laws forcibly enacted by the *commons*, made free to the people, the *conſulſhip* itſelf, the office of *cenſor*, that of the *quæſtors* or *commiſſioners of the treaſury*, the office of *prætor*, or chief juſtice, the *prieſthood*, and even that of *dictator*: the ſenate, after long oppoſition, yielding merely for preſent quiet to the continual urging clamours of the *commons*, and of the *tribunes* their advocates. A law was likewiſe enacted, that the *plebiſcita*, or a *vote of the houſe of commons*, ſhould be of univerſal obligation; nay, in time the method of enacting laws was wholly inverted; for, whereas the ſenate uſed of old to confirm the *plebiſcita*, the people did at laſt, as they pleaſed, confirm or diſannul the * *ſenatuſconſulta*.

Appius Claudius brought in a cuſtom of admitting to the ſenate the ſons of freed men, or of ſuch who once had been ſlaves; by which, and ſucceeding alterations of the like nature, that great council degenerated into a moſt corrupt and factious body of men, divided againſt itſelf; and its authority became deſpiſed.

The century and half following, to the end of the third *Punic* war by the deſtruction of *Carthage*, was a very buſy period at *Rome*; the intervals between every war being ſo ſhort, that the *tribunes* and *people* had hardly leiſure or breath to engage in domeſtic diſſentions: how-

* Dionyſ. lib. 5.

however, the little time they could ſpare, was generally employed the ſame way. So *Terentius Leo*, a *tribune*, is recorded to have baſely proſtituted the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, in perfect ſpite to the *nobles*. So the great *African Scipio* and his brother, after all their mighty ſervices, were impeached by an ungrateful *commons*.

However, the warlike genius of the people, and continual employment they had for it, ſerved to divert this humour from running into a head, till the age of the *Gracchi*.

Theſe perſons, entering the ſcene in the time of a full peace, fell violently upon advancing the power of the people by reducing into practice all thoſe incroachments, which they had been ſo many years gaining. There were at that time certain *conquered lands* to be divided, beſide a *great private eſtate left by a king*: theſe the *tribunes*, by procurement of the elder *Gracchus*, declared by their legiſlative authority were not to be diſpoſed of by the *nobles*, but by the *commons* only. The younger brother purſued the ſame deſign; and beſides obtained a law, that all *Italians* ſhould vote at elections, as well as the citizens of *Rome*: in ſhort, the whole endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the *nobles* authority in all things, but eſpecially in the matter of *judicature*. And, though they both loſt their lives in thoſe purſuits, yet they traced out ſuch ways, as were afterwards followed by *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*,

to the ruin of the *Roman* freedom and greatneſs.

For in the time of *Marius Saturninus* a tribune procured a law, that the ſenate ſhould be bound by oath to agree to whatever the people ſhould enact: and *Marius* himſelf, while he was in that office of tribune, is recorded to have with great induſtry uſed all endeavours for depreſſing the *nobles*, and raiſing the people, particularly for cramping the former in their *power of judicature*, which was *their moſt ancient inherent right*.

Sylla by the ſame meaſures became abſolute tyrant of *Rome*: he added three hundred commons to the ſenate, which perplexed the power of the whole order, and rendered it ineffectual; then flinging off the maſk, he aboliſhed the office of tribune, as being only a ſcaffold to tyranny, whereof he had no further uſe.

As to *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, *Plutarch* tells us, that their union for pulling down the *nobles* (by their credit with the people) was the cauſe of the civil war, which ended in the tyranny of the latter; both of them in their conſulſhips having uſed all endeavours and occaſions for ſinking the authority of the *patricians*, and giving way to all incroachments of the people, wherein they expected beſt to find their own account.

From this deduction of popular incroachments in *Rome*, the reader will eaſily judge, how much the balance was fallen upon that *ſide*. Indeed by this time the very founda-

tion

tion was removed, and it was a moral impoſſibility, that the republic could ſubſiſt any longer: for the *commons* having uſurped the offices of ſtate, and trampled on the ſenate, there was no government left but a *dominatio plebis*. Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

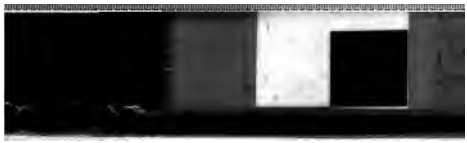
I think it is an univerſal truth, that the people are much more dextrious at pulling down and ſetting up, than at preſerving what is fixed; and they are not fonder of ſeizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worſt bidder*, with their own into the bargain. For although, in their corrupt notions of divine worſhip, they are apt to multiply their gods; yet their earthly devotion is ſeldom paid to above one idol at a time of their own creation, whoſe *oar* they pull with leſs murmuring and much more ſkill, than when they *ſhare the lading*, or even *hold the helm*.

The ſeveral provinces of the *Roman* empire were now governed by the great men of their ſtate; thoſe upon the frontiers with powerful armies either for conqueſt or defence. Theſe governors upon any deſigns of revenge or ambition were ſure to meet with a divided power at home, and therefore bent all their thoughts and applications to cloſe in with the people, who were now by many degrees the ſtronger party. Two of the greateſt ſpirits, that *Rome* ever produced, happened to live at the ſame time, and to be engaged in the ſame *purſuit*; and this at a juncture the moſt dan-

dangerous for ſuch a conteſt: theſe were *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, two ſtars of ſuch magnitude, that their *conjunction* was as likely to be fatal, as their oppoſition.

The *tribunes* and people, having now ſubdued all competitors, began the laſt game of a prevalent populace, which is that of chuſing themſelves a *maſter*; while the nobles foreſaw, and uſed all endeavours left them to prevent it. The people at firſt made *Pompey* their admiral with full power over all the *Mediterranean*, ſoon after captain-general of all the *Roman* forces, and governor of *Aſia*. *Pompey* on the other ſide reſtored the office of *tribune*, which *Sylla* had put down; and in his conſulſhip procured a law for *examining into the miſcarriages of men in office or command for twenty years paſt*. Many other examples of *Pompey*'s popularity are left us on record, who was a perfect favourite of the people, and deſigned to be more; but his pretenſions grew ſtale for want of a timely opportunity of introducing them upon the ſtage. For *Cæſar* with his legions in *Gaul* was a perpetual check upon his deſigns; and in the arts of pleaſing the people did ſoon after get many lengths beyond him. For he tells us himſelf, that the ſenate by a bold effort having made ſome ſevere decrees againſt his proceedings, and againſt the tribunes, theſe all left the city, and went over to his party, and conſequently along with them the affections and intereſts of the people; which is further manifeſt from the accounts he gives us of the citizens in ſe-

veral



veral towns mutinying againſt their commanders, and delivering both to his devotion. Beſides *Cæſar*'s public and avowed pretenſions for beginning the civil war were to reſtore the tribunes and the people oppreſſed (as he pretended) by the *nobles*.

This forced *Pompey*, againſt his inclinations, upon the neceſſity of changing ſides, for fear of being forſaken by both; and of cloſing in with the ſenate and chief magiſtrates, by whom he was choſen general againſt *Cæſar*.

Thus at length the *ſenate* (at leaſt the primitive part of them, the *nobles*) under *Pompey*, and the *commons* under *Cæſar*, came to a final deciſion of the long quarrels between them. For, I think, the ambition of private men did by no means begin or occaſion this war; though civil diſſentions never failed of introducing and ſpiriting the ambition of private men; who thus become indeed the great inſtruments for deciding ſuch quarrels, and at laſt are ſure to ſeize on the prize. But no man, that ſees a flock of vultures hovering over two armies ready to engage, can juſtly charge the blood drawn in the battle to them, though the carcaſſes fall to their ſhare. For, while the balance of power is equally held, the ambition of private men, whether orators or great commanders, give neither danger nor fear, nor can poſſibly enſlave their country; but, that once broken, the divided parties are forced to unite each to its head, under whoſe conduct or fortune one ſide is at firſt victorious, and at laſt both are ſlaves. And to put

it paſt diſpute, that this intire ſubverſion of the *Roman* liberty and conſtitution was altogether owing to thoſe meaſures, which had broke the balance between the *patricians* and *plebeians*, whereof the ambition of particular men was but an effect and conſequence, we need only conſider, that when the uncorrupted part of the ſenate had, by the death of *Cæſar*, made one great effort to reſtore their former ſtate and liberty, the ſucceſs did not anſwer their hopes, but that whole aſſembly was ſo ſunk in its authority, that thoſe patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the madneſs of the people, who by their own diſpoſitions, ſtirred up with the harangues of their orators, were now wholly bent upon ſingle and deſpotic ſlavery. Elſe, how could ſuch a profligate as *Antony*, or a boy of eighteen, like *Octavius*, ever dare to dream of giving the law to ſuch an empire and people? wherein the latter ſucceeded, and entailed the vileſt tyranny, that heaven in its anger ever inflicted on a corrupt and poiſoned people. And this, with ſo little appearance at *Cæſar*'s death, that when *Cicero* wrote to *Brutus*, how he had prevailed by his credit with *Octavius* to promiſe him *(Brutus)* pardon and ſecurity for his perſon, that great *Roman* received the notice with the utmoſt indignity, and returned *Cicero* an anſwer, yet upon record, full of the higheſt reſentment and contempt for ſuch an offer, and from ſuch an hand.

Here ended all ſhew and ſhadow of liberty in *Rome*. Here was the repoſitory of all the wiſe

wiſe contentions and ſtruggles for power between the nobles and commons, lapped up ſafely in the boſom of a *Nero* and a *Caligula*, a *Tiberius* and a *Domitian*.

Let us now ſee from this deduction of particular impeachments, and general diſſentions in *Greece* and *Rome*, what concluſions may naturally be formed for inſtruction of any other ſtate, that may haply upon many points labour under the like circumſtances.

CHAP. IV.

UPON the ſubject of *impeachments* we may obſerve, that the cuſtom of accuſing the *nobles* to the *people*, either by themſelves, or their orators, (now ſtyled an *impeachment in the name of the commons*) hath been very ancient both in *Greece* and *Rome*, as well as at *Carthage*; and therefore may ſeem to be the inherent right of a free people, nay, perhaps it is really ſo: but then it is to be conſidered, firſt, that this cuſtom was peculiar to republics, or ſuch ſtates, where the adminiſtration lay principally in the hands of the commons, and ever raged more or leſs, according to their incroachments upon abſolute power; having been always looked upon by the wiſeſt men and beſt authors of thoſe times, as an effect of licentiouſneſs, and not of liberty; a diſtinction, which no multitude either *repreſented* or *collective* hath been at any time very nice in obſerving. However, perhaps, *this cuſtom* in a popular ſtate of im-

peaching

peaching particular men may ſeem to be nothing elſe, but the people's chuſing upon occaſion to exerciſe their own juriſdiction in perſon; as if a king of *England* ſhould ſit as chief juſtice in his court of *king's-bench*; which, they ſay, in former times he ſometimes did. But in *Sparta*, which was called a kingly government, though the people were perfectly free, yet, becauſe the adminiſtration was in two kings and the *ephori* with the aſſiſtance of the ſenate, we read of no impeachments by the people, nor was the proceſs againſt great men, either upon account of ambition or ill conduct, though it reached ſometimes to kings themſelves, ever formed that way, as I can recollect, but only paſſed thro' thoſe hands, where the adminiſtration lay. So likewiſe during the regal government of *Rome*, though it was inſtituted a mixed monarchy, and the people made great advances in power, yet I do not remember to have read of one impeachment from the commons againſt a patrician, until the conſular ſtate began, and the people had made great incroachments upon the adminiſtration.

Another thing to be conſidered is, that, allowing this right of impeachment to be as inherent as they pleaſe, yet, if the commons have been perpetually miſtaken in the merits of the cauſes and the perſons, as well as in the conſequences of ſuch impeachments upon the peace of the ſtate, we cannot conclude leſs, than that the commons in *Grecce* and *Rome* (whatever may be in other ſtates) were

by

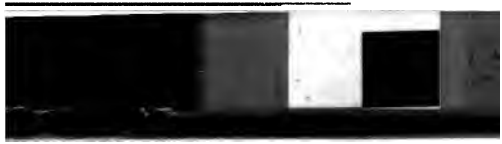
by no means qualified either as proſecutors or judges in ſuch matters; and therefore, that it would have been prudent to have reſerved theſe privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging occaſions, where the ſtate is in apparent danger, the univerſal body of the people in clamours againſt the adminiſtration, and no other remedy in view. But for a few popular orators or tribunes, upon the ſcore of *perſonal piques*; or *to employ the pride they conceive in ſeeing themſelves at the head of a party*; or *as a method for advancement*; or *moved by certain powerful arguments that could make* Demoſthenes *Philippize*: for ſuch men, I ſay, when the ſtate would of itſelf gladly be quiet, and hath, beſides, affairs of the laſt importance upon the anvil, to *impeach* Miltiades * *after a great naval victory, for not purſuing the* Perſian *fleet*: *to impeach* Ariſtides, *the perſon moſt verſed among them in the knowledge and practice of their laws, for a blind ſuſpicion of his acting in an arbitrary way (that is, as they expound it, not in concert with the people:) to impeach* Pericles, *after all his ſervices, for a few inconſiderable accounts*; or *to impeach* Phocion, *who had been guilty of no other crime but negociating a treaty for the peace and ſecurity*

* Though in other paſſages lord *Orford*'s character is ſuppoſed to be drawn under the name of *Themiſtocles*, yet he ſeems to be repreſented by *Miltiades* here; for *Themiſtocles* was not impeached at all. See p. 27.

rity of his country: what could the continu ance of ſuch proceedings end in, but the ut ter diſcouragement of all virtuous actions an perſons, and conſequently in the ruin of ſtate? therefore the hiſtorians of thoſe age ſeldom fail to ſet this matter in all its lights leaving us the higheſt and moſt honourabl *ideas* of thoſe perſons, who ſuffered by th perſecution of the people, together with th fatal conſequences they had, and how th perſecutors ſeldom failed to repent, when i was too late.

Theſe impeachments perpetually falling up on many of the beſt men both in *Greece* an *Rome*, are a cloud of witneſſes, and exam ples enough to diſcourage men of virtue an abilities from engaging in the ſervice of th public; and help on the other ſide to intro duce the ambitious, the covetous, the ſuper ficial, and the ill-deſigning; who are as ap to be bold, and forward, and meddling, a the former are to be cautious, and modeſt and reſerved. This was ſo well known i *Greece*, that an eagerneſs after employment in the ſtate was looked upon by wiſe men as the worſt title a man could ſet up; an made *Plato* ſay, *That, if all men were as goo as they ought, the quarrel in a commonwealt would be, not as it is now, who* ſhould *be mi niſters of ſtate, but who ſhould* not *be ſo.* An * *Socrates* is introduced by *Xenophon* ſeverel chiding a friend of his for not entering i the public ſervice, when he was every wa qual

* Lib. Memorab.



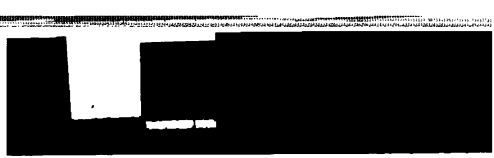
qualified for it: ſuch a backwardneſs there was at that time among good men to engage with an uſurping people, and a ſett of *pragmatical ambitious orators*. And * *Diodorus* tells us, that when the *petaliſm* was erected at *Syracuſe*, in imitation of the † *oſtraciſm* at *Athens*, it was ſo notoriouſly levelled againſt all who had either birth or merit to recommend them, that whoever poſſeſſed either, withdrew for fear, and would have no concern in public affairs. So that the people themſelves were forced to abrogate it for fear of bringing all things into confuſion.

There is one thing more to be obſerved, wherein all the popular impeachments in *Greece* and *Rome* ſeemed to have agreed; and that was, a notion they had of being concerned in *point of honour* to condemn whatever perſon they impeached, however frivolous the articles were, upon which they began,

* Lib. 11.

† *Oſtraciſm* was a kind of popular ſentence to baniſhment paſſed againſt men whoſe perſonal influence, from whatever cauſe, was thought to render them dangerous to the ſtate: the votes were given by writing the name of the perſon on a ſhell, by the *Greeks*, called ὄστρακον, and caſting the ſhell into an urn.

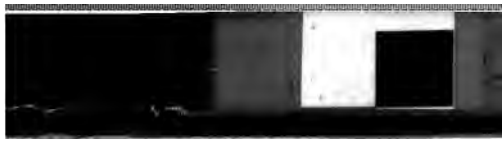
Petaliſm was a ſentence nearly of the ſame kind; and as *Oſtraciſm* was denominated from the ſhell, on which the name of the ſuſpected party were written, *Petaliſm* took its name from πέταλον, a leaf, which the *Syracuſians* uſed for the ſame purpoſe.



gan, or however weak the ſurmiſes, whereon they were to proceed in their proofs. For, to conceive that the body of the people could be miſtaken, was an indignity not to be imagined, till the conſequences had convinced them, when it was paſt remedy. And I look upon this as a fate, to which all popular accuſations are ſubject; though I ſhould think that the ſaying, *Vox populi vox Dei*, ought to be underſtood of the univerſal bent and current of the people, not of the *bare majority* of a few repreſentatives, which is often procured by *little arts*, and great induſtry and application; wherein thoſe who engage in the purſuits of malice and revenge, are much more ſedulous than ſuch as would prevent them.

From what hath been deduced of the *diſſentions* in *Rome* between the two bodies of patricians and plebeians, ſeveral reflections may be made.

Firſt, That, when the balance of power is duly fixed in a ſtate, nothing is more dangerous or unwiſe, than to give way to the *firſt ſteps* of popular incroachments; which is uſually done either in hopes of procuring eaſe and quiet from ſome vexatious clamour, or elſe *made merchandiſe, and merely bought and ſold.* This is breaking into a conſtitution to ſerve a preſent expedient, or ſupply a preſent exigency: the remedy of an empiric, to ſtifle the preſent pain, but with certain proſpect of ſudden and terrible returns. When a child grows eaſy and content by being humoured; and when a lover becomes ſatisfied by ſmall compli-



compliances, without further purſuits; then expect to find popular aſſemblies content with ſmall conceſſions. If there could one ſingle example be brought from the whole compaſs of hiſtory, of any one popular aſſembly, who, after beginning to contend for power, ever ſat down quietly with a certain ſhare: or if one inſtance could be produced of a popular aſſembly, that ever knew, or propoſed, or declared what ſhare of power was their due; then might there be ſome hopes, that it were a matter to be adjuſted by reaſonings, by conferences, or debates: but, ſince all that is manifeſtly otherwiſe, I ſee no other courſe to be taken in a ſettled ſtate, than a ſteady conſtant reſolution in thoſe, to whom the reſt of the balance is entruſted, never to give way ſo far to popular clamours, as to make the leaſt breach in the conſtitution, through which a million of abuſes and incroachments will certainly in time force their way.

Again, from this deduction it will not be difficult to gather and aſſign certain marks of popular incroachments; by obſerving of which, thoſe who hold the balance in a ſtate may judge of the degrees, and, by early remedies and application, put a ſtop to the fatal conſequences that would otherwiſe enſue. What thoſe marks are, hath been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

Another conſequence is this: that (with all reſpect for popular aſſemblies be it ſpoke) it is hard to recollect one folly, infirmity, or vice, to which a ſingle man is ſubjected, and

from which a body of commons, ei
tive or repreſented, can be whol
For, beſides that they are compo
with all their infirmities about
have alſo the ill fortune to be g
and influenced by the very worſt ar
ſelves, I mean, *popular orators, t*
as they are now ſtyled, *great ſpe*
ing men, and the like. From when
to paſs, that in their reſults we
times found the ſame ſpirit of cru
venge, of malice and pride, the ſam
and obſtinacy and unſteadineſs, th
governable rage and anger, the
tice, ſophiſtry, and fraud, that eve
the breaſt of any individual.

Again, in all free ſtates the ev
voided is *tyranny*, that is to ſay,
imperii or unlimited power ſolely in
of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*.
have ſhewn, that, although moſt
of government in *Greece* and *Rome*
the tyranny of the people, yet the
concluded in that of a ſingle perſo
an uſurping populace is its own *du*
underworker, and a purchaſer i
ſome ſingle tyrant, whoſe ſtate and
advance to their own ruin, with
inſtinct, as thoſe worms that die
ing magnificent habits for beings
rior nature to their own.

CHAP. V.

SOME reflections upon the late public proceedings among us, and that variety of factions into which we are ſtill ſo intricately engaged, gave occaſion to this diſcourſe. I am not conſcious, that I have forced one example, or put it into any other light than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it.

I cannot conclude without adding ſome particular remarks upon the preſent poſture of affairs and diſpoſitions in this kingdom.

The fate of empire is grown a commonplace: that all forms of government, having been inſtituted by men, muſt be mortal like their authors, and have their periods of duration limited as well as thoſe of private perſons. This is a truth of vulgar knowledge and obſervation: but there are few, who turn their thoughts to examine, how thoſe diſeaſes in a ſtate are bred, that haſten its end; which would however be a very uſeful inquiry. For though we cannot prolong the period of a commonwealth beyond the decree of heaven, or the date of its nature, any more than human life beyond the ſtrength of the ſeminal virtue; yet we may manage a ſickly conſtitution, and preſerve a ſtrong one; we may watch and prevent accidents; we may turn off a great blow from without, and purge away an ill humour that is lurking within: and by theſe and other ſuch methods render

a ſtate long-lived, though not immortal. Yet ſome phyſicians have thought, that, if it were practicable to keep the ſeveral humours of the body in an exact equal balance of each with its oppoſite, it might be immortal, and ſo perhaps would a political body, if the balance of power could be always held exactly even. But, I doubt, this is as impoſſible in practice as the other.

It hath an appearance of fatality, and that the period of a ſtate approacheth, when a concurrence of many circumſtances, both within and without, unite towards its ruin: while the whole body of the people are either ſtupidly negligent, or elſe giving in with all their might to thoſe very practices, that are working their deſtruction. To ſee whole bodies of men breaking a conſtitution by the very ſame errors, that ſo many have been broke before: to obſerve oppoſite parties, who can agree in nothing elſe, yet firmly united in ſuch meaſures, as muſt certainly ruin their country: in ſhort, to be encompaſſed with the greateſt dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent factions within; then to be ſecure and ſenſeleſs under all this, and to make it the very leaſt of our concern: theſe, and ſome others that might be named, appear to me to be the moſt likely ſymptoms in a ſtate of a *ſickneſs unto death.*

Quod procul a nobis flectat fortuna gubernans:
Et ratio potius, quam res perſuadeat ipſa.

LUCRET.

There

There are ſome conjunctures, wherein the death or diſſolution of government is more lamentable in its conſequences, than it would be in others. And, I think, a ſtate can never arrive to its period in a more deplorable *criſis*, than at a time when ſome *prince in the neighbourhood*, of vaſt power and ambition, lies hovering like a vulture to devour, or, at leaſt, diſmember its dying carcaſs; by which means it becomes only a province or acquiſition to ſome mighty monarchy, without hopes of a reſurrection.

I know very well, there is a ſett of ſanguine tempers, who deride and ridicule, in the number of fopperies, all ſuch apprehenſions as theſe. They have it ready in their mouths, that the people of *England* are of a genius and temper never to admit ſlavery among them; and they are furniſhed with a great many common-places upon that ſubject. But it ſeems to me, that ſuch diſcourſes do reaſon upon ſhort views, and a very moderate compaſs of thought. For I think it a great error to count upon the genius of a nation, as a ſtanding argument in all ages, ſince there is hardly a ſpot of ground in *Europe*, where the inhabitants have not frequently and intirely changed their temper and genius. Neither can I ſee any reaſon, why the genius of a nation ſhould be more fixed in the point of government, than in their morals, their learning, their religion, their common humour and converſation, their diet and their complexion; which do all notoriouſly vary

almoſt in every age, and may every one of them have great effects upon mens notions of government.

Since the *Norman* conqueſt the balance of power in *England* hath often varied, and ſometimes been wholly overturned; the part which the commons had in it, *(that moſt diſputed point) in its original, progreſs, and extent*, was, by their own confeſſions, but a very inconſiderable ſhare. Generally ſpeaking, they have been gaining ever ſince, tho' with frequent interruptions and ſlow progreſs. The aboliſhing of *villanage*, together with the cuſtom introduced (or permitted) among the nobles of ſelling their lands in the reign of *Henry* the Seventh, was a mighty addition to the power of the commons: yet I think a much greater happened in the time of his ſucceſſor, at the diſſolution of the abbeys; for this turned the *clergy* wholly out of the ſcale, who had ſo long filled it; and placed the *commons* in their ſtead; who in a few years became poſſeſſed of vaſt quantities of thoſe and other lands, by grant or purchaſe. About the middle of queen *Eliſabeth's* reign, I take the power between the nobles and the commons to have been in more equal balance, than it was ever before or ſince. But then or ſoon after aroſe a faction in *England*, which under the name of *puritan* began to grow popular by molding up their new ſchemes of religion with republican principles in government; and, gaining upon the *prerogative* as well as the *nobles*, under ſeveral

veral donominations, for the ſpace of about ſixty years, did at laſt overthrow the conſtitution, and, according to the uſual courſe of ſuch revolutions, did introduce a tyranny, firſt of the people, and then of a ſingle perſon.

In a ſhort time after, the old government was revived. But the progreſs of affairs for almoſt thirty years, under the reigns of two weak princes †, is a ſubject of a very different nature; when the balance was in danger to be overturned by the hands that held it, which was at laſt very ſeaſonably prevented by the late revolution. However, as it is the talent of human nature to run from one extreme to another, ſo in a very few years we have made mighty leaps from prerogative heights into the depths of popularity, and, I doubt, to the very laſt degree that our conſtitution will bear. It were to be wiſhed, that the moſt auguſt aſſembly of the commons would pleaſe to form a *pandect* of their own power and privileges, to be confirmed by the intire legiſlative authority, and that in as ſolemn a manner (if they pleaſe) as the *magna charta*. But to fix one foot of their compaſs where-ever they think fit, and extend the other to ſuch terrible lengths, without deſcribing any circumference at all, is to leave us and themſelves in a very uncertain ſtate, and in a ſort of *rotation*, that ‡ the author of

† *Charles* II. and *James* II.

‡ *Mr. James Harrington*, ſometime in the ſervice.

the *Oceana* never dreamed on. I believe moſt hardy tribune will not venture to aſ at preſent, that any juſt fears of incroachn are given us from the regal power, or the *j* and is it then impoſſible to err on the o ſide? How far muſt we proceed, or w ſhall we ſtop? *The raging of the ſea* and *madneſs of the people* are put together in writ: and it is God alone who can ſay t ther, *Hitherto ſhalt thou paſs, and no furth*

The balance of power in a limited ſta of ſuch abſolute neceſſity, that *Cromwell* ſelf, before he had perfectly confirmed tyranny, having ſome occaſions for the pearance of a parliament, was forced to c and erect an intire new houſe of lords (as it was) for a counterpoiſe to the comm And indeed, conſidering the vileneſs of clay, I have ſometimes wondered, tha tribune of that age durſt ever venture t the *potter, What doſt thou make?* But it then about the laſt act of a popular uſi

vice of king *Charles* I. after whoſe death he dr and printed a form of popular government, in *The Commonwealth of Oceana:* he endeavoured wiſe to promote this ſcheme by public diſcours nightly meeting of ſeveral curious gentlemen i *Palace-Yard, Weſtminſter.* This club was call *Rota*; and Mr. *Henry Nevil*, one of its mem propoſed to the then houſe of commons, that a part of the ſenate ſhould *rote* out by ballot every and be incapable of being elected again for years to come.

tion, and *fate* or *Cromwell* had already prepared them for that of a ſingle perſon.

I have been often amazed at the rude, paſſionate, and miſtaken reſults, which have at certain times fallen from great aſſemblies, both ancient and modern, and of other countries as well as our own. This gave me the opinion, I mentioned a while ago; that public conventions are liable to all the infirmities, follies, and vices of private men. To which if there be any exception, it muſt be of ſuch aſſemblies, who act by *univerſal concert, upon public principles, and for public ends*; ſuch as proceed upon debates without *unbecoming warmths*, or *influence from particular leaders and inflamers*; ſuch whoſe members, inſtead *of canvaſſing to procure majorities for their private opinions, are ready to comply with general ſober reſults, though contrary to their own ſentiments.* Whatever aſſemblies act by theſe and other methods of the like nature, muſt be allowed to be exempt from ſeveral imperfections, to which particular men are ſubjected. But I think the ſource of moſt miſtakes and miſcarriages, in matters debated by public aſſemblies, ariſeth from the influence of private perſons upon great numbers, ſtyled, in common phraſe, *leading men and parties.* And therefore when we ſometimes meet a *few words* put together, which is called the *vote* or *reſolution* of an aſſembly, and which we cannot poſſibly reconcile to *prudence* or *public good*, it is moſt charitable to conjecture, that

ſuch a vote has been conceived, a
and bred, in a private brain, afterwar
and ſupported by an obſequious pa
then with uſual methods confirmed b
tificial majority. For, let us ſupp
hundred men, mixed in point of ſe
honeſty, as uſually aſſemblies are; a
ſuppoſe theſe men propoſing, debat
ſolving, voting according to the mer
motions of their own little or much re
underſtanding; I do allow that abun
indigeſted and abortive, many pernic
fooliſh overtures would ariſe, and flo
minutes; but then they would die an
pear. Becauſe this muſt be ſaid in t
human kind, that common ſenſe a
reaſon, while men are diſengaged f
quired opinions, will ever have ſome
influence upon their minds; whereas
cies of folly and vice are infinite, and
ferent in every individual, that the
never procure a majority, if other cor
did not enter to pervert mens underſt
and miſguide their wills.

To deſcribe how parties are bred i
ſembly would be a work too difficul
ſent, and perhaps not altogether ſafe
culoſæ plenum opus aleæ. Whether th
are leaders, uſually arrive at that ſtati
by a ſort of inſtinct or ſecret compo
their nature, or influence of the ſta
by the poſſeſſion of any great abiliti
be a point of much diſpute: but, w

leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be followers. And man is ſo apt to *imitate*, ſo much of the nature of *ſheep*, *(imitatores, ſervum pecus)* that whoever is ſo bold to give the firſt *great leap over the heads of thoſe about him*, though he be the worſt of the flock, ſhall be quickly followed by the reſt. Beſides, when parties are once formed, the ſtragglers look ſo ridiculous, and become ſo inſignificant, that they have no other way, but to run into the herd, which at leaſt will hide and protect them; and where to be much conſidered requires only to be very violent.

But there is one circumſtance with relation to parties, which I take to be of all others moſt pernicious in a ſtate; and I would be glad any partizan would help me to a tolerable reaſon, that, becauſe *Clodius* and *Curio* happen to agree with me in a few ſingular notions, I muſt therefore blindly follow them in all: or, to ſtate it at beſt, that becauſe *Bibulus* the *party-man* is perſuaded, that *Clodius* and *Curio* do really propoſe the good of their country as their chief end; therefore *Bibulus* ſhall be wholly guided and governed by them in the means and meaſures towards it. Is it enough for *Bibulus*, and the reſt of the herd, to ſay without further examining, *I am of the ſide with* Clodius, *or I vote with* Curio? are theſe proper methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the *united wiſdom of the nation?* Is it not poſſible, that upon ſome occaſion *Clodius* may be bold and inſo-

lent,

lent, borne away by his paſſion, malicious and revengeful? That *Curio* may be corrupt, and expoſe to ſale his tongue or his pen? I conceive it far below the dignity both of human nature, and human reaſon, to be engaged in any party, the moſt plauſible ſoever, upon ſuch ſervile conditions.

This influence of *one* upon *many*, which ſeems to be as great in a people *repreſented*, as it was of old in the commons *collective*, together with the conſequences it hath had upon the legiſlature, hath given me frequent occaſion to reflect upon what *Diodorus* tells us of one *Charondas*, a law-giver to the *Sybarites*, an ancient people of *Italy*, who was ſo averſe from all innovation, eſpecially when it was to proceed from particular perſons, (and I ſuppoſe, that he might put it out of the power of men fond of their own notions to diſturb the conſtitution at their pleaſures, by advancing private ſchemes) that he provided a ſtatute, that whoever propoſed any alteration to be made, ſhould ſtep out and do it with a rope about his neck: if the matter propoſed were generally approved, then it ſhould paſs into a law; if it went in the negative, the propoſer to be immediately *hanged*. Great miniſters may talk of what projects they pleaſe; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could ever be found for *taking off* (as the preſent phraſe is) thoſe hot unquiet ſpirits, who diſturb aſſemblies, and obſtruct public affairs, by gratifying their pride, their malice, their ambition, or their avarice.

Thoſe,

Thoſe, who in a late reign began the diſtinction between the *perſonal* and *politic* capacity, ſeem to have had reaſon, if they judged of princes by themſelves; for, I think, there is hardly to be found through all nature a greater difference between two things, than there is between a repreſenting commoner in the function of his public calling, and the ſame perſon when he acts in the common offices of life. Here he allows himſelf to be upon a level with the reſt of mortals: here he follows his own reaſon, and his own way; and rather affects a ſingularity in his actions and thoughts, than ſervilely to copy either from the wiſeſt of his neighbours. In ſhort, here his folly, and his wiſdom, his reaſon and his paſſions are all of his own growth, not the eccho or infuſion of other men. But, when he is got near the walls of his aſſembly, he aſſumes and affects an intire ſett of very different airs; he conceives himſelf a being of a ſuperior nature to thoſe *without*, and acting in a ſphere, where the vulgar methods for the conduct of human life can be of no uſe. He is liſted in a party, where he neither knows the temper, nor deſigns, nor perhaps the perſon of his leader: but whoſe opinions he follows and maintains with a zeal and faith as violent, as a young ſcholar does thoſe of a philoſopher, whoſe ſect he is taught to profeſs. He hath neither opinions, nor thoughts, nor actions, nor talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his leader, as wind

is

is through an organ. The nouriſhment he receives, hath been not only *chewed* but *digeſted*, before it comes into his mouth. Thus inſtructed, he follows the *party* right or wrong through all its ſentiments, and acquires a courage and ſtiffneſs of opinion not at all congenial with him.

This encourages me to hope, that, during the preſent lucid interval, the members retired to their homes may ſuſpend a while their *acquired* complexions, and, taught by the calmneſs of the ſcene and the ſeaſon, reaſſume the *native* ſedateneſs of their temper. If this ſhould be ſo, it would be wiſe in them, as individual and private mortals, to look back a little upon the ſtorms they have *raiſed*, as well as thoſe they have *eſcaped*. To reflect, that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in *England*, which is, for a houſe of commons to loſe the univerſal favour of the numbers they repreſent: to obſerve, how thoſe, whom they thought fit to perſecute for righteouſneſs ſake, have been openly careſſed by the people; and to remember how themſelves ſat in fear of their perſons from popular rage. Now, if they would know the ſecret of all this unprecedented proceeding in their *maſters*, they muſt not impute it to their freedom in debate, or declaring their opinions, but to that unparliamentary abuſe of *ſetting individuals upon their ſhoulders*, who were hated by God and man. For, it ſeems, the maſs of the people, in ſuch conjunctures

as

his, have opened their eyes, and will not
ure to be governed by *Clodius* and *Curio*,
he head of their *Myrmidons*, though theſe
ever ſo numerous, and compoſed of their
n repreſentatives.

This averſion of the people againſt the late
ceedings of the commons is an accident;
t, if it laſt a while, might be improved to
d uſes for ſetting the balance of power a
le more upon an equality, than their late
ſures ſeem to promiſe or admit. This
ident may be imputed to two cauſes: the
t is an univerſal fear and apprehenſion of
greatneſs and power of *France*, whereof
people in general ſeem to be very much
l juſtly poſſeſſed, and therefore cannot but
nt to ſee it, in ſo critical a juncture, whol-
laid aſide by their *miniſters*, the commons.
e other cauſe is a great love and ſenſe of
titude in the people towards their preſent
g, grounded upon a long opinion and ex-
ience of his merit, as well as conceſſions
ll their reaſonable deſires: ſo that it is for
e time they have begun to ſay, and to
h inſtances, where he hath in many things
n hardly uſed. How long theſe humours
y laſt, (for paſſions are momentary, and
ecially thoſe of the multitude) or what con-
uences they may produce, a little time will
over. But whenever it comes to paſs, that
opular aſſembly, free from ſuch obſtruc-
ns, and already poſſeſſed of more power,
n an equal balance will allow, ſhall continue

to

to think they have not enough, but by cramping the hand that holds the balance, and by *impeachments* or *diſſentions* with the nobles, endeavour ſtill for more; I cannot poſſibly ſee in the common courſe of things, how the ſame cauſes can produce different effects and conſequences among us, from what they did in *Greece* and *Rome*.

THE

THE SENTIMENTS OF A *Church of England Man*

With reſpect to

RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.

Written in the Year 1708.*

WHOEVER hath examined the conduct and proceedings of both *parties* for ſome years paſt, whether in or out of power, cannot well conceive it poſſible to go far towards the extremes of either, without offering ſome violence to his integrity or underſtanding. A wiſe and good man may indeed be ſometimes induced to comply with a

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* This appears to be an apology for the Tories, and a juſtification of them againſt the miſrepreſentations of the Whigs, who were then in the miniſtry, and uſed every artifice to perpetuate their power. Mr. *Harley*, afterwards lord *Oxford*, had by the influence of the duke of *Marlborough* and lord-treaſurer *Godolphin*, been lately removed from his poſt of principal ſecretary of ſtate; and Mr. *St. John*, afterwards lord *Bolingbroke*, reſigned his place of ſecretary at war, and ſir *Simon Harcourt* that of attorney-general.

number, whoſe opinion he generally app
though it be perhaps againſt his own.
this liberty ſhould be made uſe of upo
few occaſions, and thoſe of ſmall impor
and then only with a view of bringing o
own ſide another time to ſomething of
and more public moment. But to ſa
the innocency of a friend, the good o
country, or our own conſcience, to t
mour, or paſſion, or intereſt of a party,
ly ſhews, that either our heads or our
are not as they ſhould be; yet this very
tice is the very fundamental law of eac
tion among us, as may be obvious t
who will impartially and without engag
be at the pains to examine their actions,
however is not ſo eaſy a taſk: for it ſe
principle in human nature, to incline on
more than another, even in matters wh
are wholly unconcerned. And it is a
mon obſervation, that in reading a hiſt
facts done a thouſand years ago, or ſta
by at play among thoſe, who are perfect
gers to us, we are apt to find our hope
wiſhes engaged on a ſudden in favour
ſide more than another. No wonder
that we are all ſo ready to intereſt ourſel
the courſe of public affairs, where the
inconſiderable have ſome *real* ſhare, an
the wonderful importance which every m
of to himſelf, a very great *imaginary* one.

And indeed, when the two parties, th
vide the whole commonwealth, come on
a rupture, without any hopes left of

ing a third with better principles to balance the others, it ſeems every man's duty to chuſe one of the two ſides, though he cannot intirely approve of either; and all pretences to neutrality are juſtly exploded by both, being too ſtale and obvious, only intending the ſafety and eaſe of a few individuals, while the public is embroiled. This was the opinion and practice of the latter *Cato*, whom I eſteem to have been the wiſeſt and beſt of all the *Romans* *. But, before things proceed to open violence, the trueſt ſervice a private man may hope to do his country, is by unbiaſſing his mind as much as poſſible, and then endeavouring to moderate between the rival powers, which muſt needs be owned a fair proceeding with the world, becauſe it is of all others the leaſt conſiſtent with the common deſign of making a fortune by the *merit* of an *opinion*.

I have gone as far as I am able in qualifying myſelf to be ſuch a moderator: I believe I am no *bigot* in religion, and I am ſure I am none in government. I converſe in full freedom with many conſiderable men of both parties; and, if not in equal number, it is purely accidental and perſonal, as happening to be near the court, and to have made acquaintance there, more under one miniſtry than another. Then, I am not under the neceſſity of declaring myſelf by the proſpect of an employment

* One of the ſextumvirate in *Gulliver*, Part III. Chap. VII.

ment. And laſtly, if all this be r
I induſtriouſly conceal my name,
ly exempts me from any hopes
delivering my opinion.

In conſequence of this free uſ
ſon, I cannot poſſibly think ſo v
of either party, as they would
perſuade the world of each other,
ſelves. For inſtance; I do not
on the body of the *whigs* or the
their ſeveral principles lead them
preſbytery, and the religion of t
Rome, or a commonwealth, a
power. For why ſhould any pa
ſed of a principle, which they ſ
own and proteſt againſt? But,
have a mutual anſwer ready: t
ſure us, that their adverſaries a
believed; that they diſown the
out of fear, which are manif
when we examine their practices.
this they will produce inſtances,
either of avowed preſbyterians, c
libertine and atheiſtical tenets,
other of profeſſed papiſts, or ſuch
ly in the intereſt of the abdic
Now it is very natural for all
ſects and denominations in a ſtat
ſome general party, and to chuſe
they find to agree with themſelves
neral principle. Thus at the r
preſbyterians, anabaptiſts, indepe
other ſects, did all, with very
unite and ſolder up their ſevera

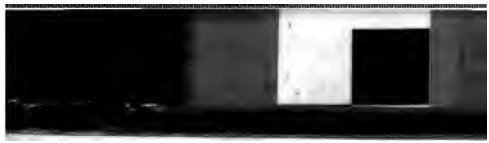
join againſt the *church*, who, without regard to their diſtinctions, treated them all as equal adverſaries. Thus, our preſent diſſenters do very naturally cloſe in with the whigs, who profeſs *moderation*, declare they abhor all thoughts of *perſecution*, and think it hard that thoſe, who differ only in a few *ceremonies* and *ſpeculations*, ſhould be denied the privilege and profit of ſerving their country in the higheſt employments of ſtate. Thus, the atheiſts, libertines, deſpiſers of religion and revelation in general, that is to ſay, all thoſe who uſually paſs under the name of *Free-thinkers*, do properly join with the ſame body; becauſe *they* likewiſe preach up *moderation*, and are not ſo over-nice to diſtinguiſh between an unlimited liberty of conſcience, and an unlimited freedom of opinion. Then, on the other ſide, the profeſſed firmneſs of the *tories* for epiſcopacy, as an apoſtolical inſtitution: their averſion to thoſe ſects, who lie under the reproach of having once deſtroyed their conſtitution, and who, they imagine, by too indiſcreet a zeal for reformation have defaced the primitive model of the church: next, their veneration for monarchical government in the common courſe of ſucceſſion, and their hatred to republican ſchemes: theſe, I ſay, are principles which not only the nonjuring zealots profeſs, but even papiſts themſelves fall readily in with. And every extreme, here mentioned, flings a general ſcandal upon the whole body it pretends to adhere to.

But surely no man whatsoever ought in justice or good manners to be charged with principles he actually disowns, unless his practices do openly, and without the least room for doubt, contradict his profession: not upon small surmises, or because he has the misfortune to have ill men sometimes agree with him in a few general sentiments. However, though the extremes of *whig* and *tory* seem with little justice, to have drawn religion into their controversies, wherein they have small concern, yet they both have borrowed one leading principle from the abuse of it, which is, to have built their several systems of political faith, not upon inquiries after truth, but upon opposition to each other, upon injurious appellations, charging their adversaries with horrid opinions, and then reproaching them for the want of charity; *et neutra falso*.

In order to remove these prejudices, I hav thought nothing could be more effectual, th to describe the sentiments of a *church of En land man* with respect to *religion* and *gover ment*. This I shall endeavour to do in suc *manner*, as may not be liable to the leas jection from either party, and which I am fident would be assented to by great num in both, if they were not misled to those tual misrepresentations by such motiv they would be ashamed to own.

I shall begin with *religion*.

And here, though it makes an odd yet it is necessary to say, that whoe



ſeſſeth himſelf a member of the church of *England*, ought to believe a God, and his providence, together with revealed religion, and the divinity of *Chriſt*. For beſides thoſe many thouſands, who (to ſpeak in the phraſe of divines) do practically deny all this by the immorality of their lives, there is no ſmall number, who in their converſation and writings directly, or by conſequence, endeavour to overthrow it: yet all theſe place themſelves in the liſt of the national church, though at the ſame time (as it is highly reaſonable) they are great ſticklers for liberty of conſcience.

To enter upon particulars: a *church of England man* has a true veneration for the ſcheme eſtabliſhed among us of eccleſiaſtic government; and, though he will not determine whether epiſcopacy be of divine right, he is ſure it is moſt agreeable to primitive inſtitution, fitteſt of all others for preſerving order and purity, and under its preſent regulations beſt calculated for our civil ſtate: he ſhould therefore think the aboliſhment of that order among us would prove a mighty ſcandal and corruption to our faith, and manifeſtly dangerous to our monarchy; nay, he would defend it by arms againſt all the powers on earth, except our own legiſlature; in which caſe he would ſubmit as to a general calamity, a dearth, or a peſtilence.

As to rites and ceremonies, and forms of prayer; he allows there might be ſome uſeful alterations, and more, which in the proſpect of uniting chriſtians might be very ſupporta-

ble, as things declared in their own n
indifferent; to which he therefore would
dily comply, if the *clergy*, or (though
be not ſo fair a method) if the *legiſla*
ſhould direct: yet at the ſame time he ca
altogether blame the former for their ur
lingneſs to conſent to any alteration, wl
beſide the trouble, and perhaps diſg
would certainly never produce the goo
fects intended by it. The only condi
that could make it prudent and juſt fo
clergy to comply in altering the ceremo
or any other indifferent part, would be a
reſolution in the legiſlature to interpoſe
ſome ſtrict and effectual laws, to preven
riſing and ſpreading of new ſects, how pl
ble ſoever, for the future; elſe there muſt
ver be an end: and it would be to act li
man, who ſhould pull down and change
ornaments of his houſe in compliance to e
one, who was diſpoſed to find fault as he
ed by; which, beſides the perpetual tro
and expence, would very much damage,
perhaps in time deſtroy the building. S
in a ſtate ſeem only tolerated with any rea
becauſe they are already ſpread; and bec
it would not be agreeable with ſo mild a
vernment, or ſo pure a religion as ours,
uſe violent methods againſt great number
miſtaken people, while they do not manife
endanger the conſtitution of either. But
greateſt advocates for general liberty of c
ſcience will allow, that they ought to
checked in their beginnings, if they will

low them to be an evil at all, or, which is the ſame thing, if they will only grant, it were better for the peace of the ſtate, that there ſhould be none. But while the clergy conſider the natural temper of mankind in general, or of our own country in particular, what aſſurances can they have, that any compliances they ſhall make, will remove the evil of diſſenſion, while the liberty ſtill continues of profeſſing whatever new opinions we pleaſe? Or how can it be imagined, that the body of diſſenting teachers, who muſt be all undone by ſuch a revolution, will not caſt about for ſome new objections to with-hold their flocks, and draw in freſh proſelytes by ſome further innovations or refinements.

Upon theſe reaſons he is for tolerating ſuch different forms in religious worſhip as are already admitted, but by no means for leaving it in the power of thoſe, who are tolerated, to advance their own models upon the ruin of what is already eſtabliſhed; which it is natural for all ſects to deſire, and which they cannot be juſtified by any conſiſtent principles if they do not endeavour; and yet, which they cannot ſucceed in without the utmoſt danger to the public peace.

To prevent theſe inconveniences, he thinks it highly juſt, that all rewards of truſt, profit, or dignity, which the ſtate leaves in the diſpoſal of the adminiſtration, ſhould be given only to thoſe, whoſe principles direct them to preſerve the conſtitution in all its parts. *In the late affair of occaſional conformity,*

the general argument of thoſe who were againſt it, was not, to deny it an evil in itſelf, but that the remedy propoſed was violent, untimely and improper, which is the biſhop of *Saliſbury*'s * opinion in the ſpeech he made and publiſhed againſt the bill: but, however juſt their fears or complaints might have been upon that ſcore, he thinks it a little too groſs and precipitate to employ their writers already in arguments for repealing the ſacramental teſt, upon no wiſer a maxim, than that no man ſhould, on the account of conſcience, be deprived the liberty of ſerving his country; a topic which may be equally applied to admit *Papiſts*, *Atheiſts*, *Mahometans*, *Heathens*, and *Jews*. If the church wants members of its own to employ in the ſervice of the public, or to be ſo unhappily contrived, as to exclude from its communion ſuch perſons, who are likelieſt to have great abilities, it is time it ſhould be altered and reduced into ſome more perfect, or at leaſt more popular form: but in the mean while it is not altogether improbable, that, when thoſe, who diſlike the conſtitution, are ſo very zealous in their offers for the ſervice of their country, they are not wholly unmindful of their party, or of themſelves.

The *Dutch*, whoſe practice is ſo often q' ted to prove and celebrate the great advant: of a general liberty of conſcience, have y national religion profeſſed by all who l

* Dr. Burnet.

office among them: but why ſhould they be a precedent for us either in religion or government? our country differs from theirs, as well in ſituation, ſoil, and productions of nature, as in the genius and complexion of the inhabitants. They are a commonwealth founded on a ſudden, by a deſperate attempt in a deſperate condition, not formed or digeſted into a regular ſyſtem by mature thought and reaſon, but huddled up under the preſſure of ſudden exigencies; calculated for no long duration, and hitherto ſubſiſting by accident in the midſt of contending powers, who cannot yet agree about ſharing it amongſt them. Theſe difficulties do indeed preſerve them from any great corruptions, which their crazy conſtitution would extremely ſubject them to in a long peace. That confluence of people in a perſecuting age to a place of refuge neareſt at hand, put them upon the neceſſity of trade, to which they wiſely gave all eaſe and encouragement: and, if we could think fit to imitate them in this laſt particular, there would need no more to invite foreigners among us; who think no farther than how to ſecure their property and conſcience, without projecting any ſhare in that government which gives them protection, or calling it *perſecution*, if it be denied them. But, I ſpeak it for the honour of our adminiſtration, that although our ſects are not ſo numerous as thoſe in *Holland*, which I preſume is not our *fault*, and I hope is not our *misfortune*, we much excel them and all *Chriſtendom* beſides in our in-

lgence to tender conſciences*. One ſingle
mpliance with the national form of receiv-
ng the ſacrament, is all we require to qualify
ny ſectary among us for the greateſt employ-
ments in the ſtate, after which he is at liberty
to rejoin his own aſſemblies for the reſt of his
life. Beſides, I will ſuppoſe any of the nu-
merous ſects in *Holland* to have ſo far prevail-
ed, as to have raiſed a civil war, deſtroyed
their government and religion, and put their
adminiſtrators to death; after which I will
ſuppoſe the people to have recovered all again,
and to have ſettled on their old foundation.
Then I would put a query, whether that ſect,
which was the unhappy inſtrument of all this
confuſion, could reaſonably expect to be in-
truſted for the future with the greateſt em-
ployments, or indeed to be hardly tolerate
among them?

To go on with the ſentiments of a *church*
England man: he does not ſee how that mi
ty paſſion for the church, which ſome
pretend, can well conſiſt with thoſe indi
ties and that contempt they beſtow on
perſons of the clergy. It is a ſtrange
whereby to diſtinguiſh *high-church men*
they are ſuch, who imagine the clergy c
ver be too *low*. He thinks the maxim
gentlemen are ſo fond of, that they
an humble clergy, is a very good or
ſo is he, and for an humble laity to

* When this was written, there was
gainſt occaſional conformity.

humility is a virtue, and perhaps equally befits and adorns every ſtation of life.

But then, if the ſcribblers on the other ſide freely ſpeak the ſentiments of their party, a divine of the church of *England* cannot look for much better quarter from thence. You ſhall obſerve nothing more frequent in their weekly papers, than a way of affecting to confound the terms of *clergy* and *high-church*, of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the calumny they can invent. They will tell you, they honour a clergyman; but talk at the ſame time, as if there were not three in the kingdom, who could fall in with their definition. After the like manner they inſult the *univerſities* as poiſoned fountains, and corrupters of youth.

Now it ſeems clear to me, that the *whigs* might eaſily have procured and maintained a majority among the clergy, and perhaps in the univerſities, if they had not too much encouraged or connived at this intemperance of ſpeech and virulence of pen, in the worſt and moſt proſtitute of their party; among whom there hath been, for ſome years paſt, ſuch a perpetual clamour againſt the ambition, the implacable temper, and the covetouſneſs of the *prieſthood*: ſuch a cant of *high-church*, and perſecution, and being *prieſt-ridden*, ſo many reproaches about *narrow principles*, or *terms of communion*: then ſuch ſcandalous reflections on the *univerſities*, for infecting the youth of the nation with arbitrary and *jacobite* principles, that it was natural for thoſe, who had

the care of religion and education, to apprehend ſome general deſign of altering the conſtitution of both. And all this was the more extraordinary, becauſe it could not eaſily be forgot, that whatever oppoſition was made to the uſurpations of *king James*, proceeded altogether from the church of *England*, and chiefly from the *clergy*, and one of the *univerſities*. For, if it were of any uſe to recal matters of fact, what is more notorious than that prince's applying himſelf firſt to the church of *England*; and, upon their refuſal to fall in with his meaſures, making the like advances to the *diſſenters* of all kinds, who readily and almoſt univerſally complied with him, affecting, in their numerous addreſſes and pamphlets, the ſtyle of *our brethren the Roman catholics*; whoſe intereſts they put on the ſame foot with their own: and ſome of *Cromwell*'s officers took poſts in the army raiſed againſt the prince of *Orange*. Theſe proceedings of theirs they can only extenuate by urging the provocations they had met from the church in king *Charles*'s reign; which, though perhaps excuſable upon the ſcore of human infirmity, are not by any means a plea of merit equal to the conſtancy and ſufferings of the biſhops and clergy, or of the head and fellows of *Magdalen-college*, that furniſhed the prince of *Orange*'s declaration with ſuch powerful arguments to juſtify and promote the *revolution*.

Therefore a *church of England man* abhors the humour of the age, in delighting to fling ſcandals upon the clergy in general; which beſid-

beſides the diſgrace to the *reformation*, and to religion itſelf, caſt an ignominy upon the kingdom, that it doth not deſerve. We have no better materials to compound the prieſthood of, than the maſs of mankind, which corrupted, as it is, thoſe who receive orders muſt have ſome vices to leave behind them when they enter into the church, and, if a few do ſtill adhere, it is no wonder, but rather a great one that they are no worſe. Therefore he cannot think *ambition*, or *love of power*, more juſtly laid to their charge than to other men, becauſe that would be to make religion itſelf, or at leaſt the beſt conſtitution of *church-government*, anſwerable for the errors and depravity of human nature.

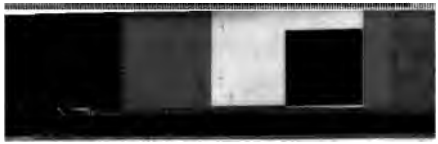
Within theſe laſt two hundred years, all ſorts of temporal power have been wreſted from the clergy, and much of their eccleſiaſtic, the reaſon or juſtice of which proceeding I ſhall not examine; but that the remedies were a little too violent, with reſpect to their *poſſeſſions*, the legiſlature hath lately confeſſed by the remiſſion of their *firſt fruits*. Neither do the common libellers deny this, who, in their invectives, only tax the church with an inſatiable deſire of the power and wealth, (equally common to all bodies of men, as well as individuals) but thank God, that the laws have deprived them of both. However, it is worth obſerving the juſtice of parties; the ſects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard uſage to be reproached now after fifty years, for overturning the ſtate, for

the

the murder of a king, and the indign
an uſurpation; yet theſe very men, and
partiſans, are continually reproachin
clergy, and laying to their charge the
the avarice, the luxury. the ignorance
ſuperſtition of *popiſh* times for a thouſand
paſt.

He thinks it a ſcandal to government
ſuch an unlimited liberty ſhould be al
of publiſhing books againſt thoſe doctri
religion, wherein all chriſtians have a
much more to connive at ſuch tracts as
all revelation, and by their conſequenc
ten deny the very being of a God. Sui
is not a ſufficient atonement for the w
that they profeſs much loyalty to the p
government, and ſprinkle up and down
arguments in favour of the *diſſenters*;
they diſpute, as ſtrenuouſly as they ca
liberty of conſcience, and inveigh larg
gainſt all eccleſiaſtics under the name o
church; and, in ſhort, under the ſhel
ſome popular principles in politics an
gion, undermine the foundations of al
and virtue.

As he doth not reckon every *ſchiſm*
damnable nature which ſome would rep
ſo he is very far from cloſing with th
opinion of thoſe who would make it no
at all; and argue at a wild rate, that G
mighty is delighted with the variety of
and worſhip, as he is with the varieties
ture. To ſuch abſurdities are men carr
the affectation of *free-thinking*, and *re*



e prejudices of education, under which head ıey have for ſome time begun to liſt *morality* ıd *religion*. It is certain that before the re-:llion in 1642, though the number of *puri-ıs* (as they were then called) were as great ı it is with us, and though they affected to)llow paſtors of that denomination, yet thoſe ıſtors had epiſcopal ordination, poſſeſſed pre-ırments in the church, and were ſometimes romoted to biſhoprics themſelves. But a reach in the general form of worſhip was, ı thoſe days, reckoned ſo dangerous and fin-ıl in itſelf, and ſo offenſive to *Roman catho-cs* at home and abroad, that it was too un-opular to be attempted; neither, I believe, ıas the expedient then found out of main-ıining ſeparate paſtors out of private purſes.

When a *ſchiſm* is once ſpread in a nation, ıere grows at length a diſpute, which are the hiſmatics. Without entering on the argu-ıents uſed by both ſides among us to fix the uilt on each other, it is certain, that, in the ınſe of the law, the *ſchiſm* lies on that ſide, hich oppoſeth itſelf to the religion of the ate. I leave it among the *divines* to dilate pon the danger of *ſchiſm* as a ſpiritual evil; ut I would conſider it only as a temporal ne. And I think it clear, that any great :paration from the eſtabliſhed worſhip, tho') a new one that is more pure and perfect, ıay, be an occaſion of endangering the pub-c peace, becauſe it will compoſe a body al-ways in reſerve, prepared to follow any diſ-ontented heads, upon the plauſible pretexts

of advancing *true religion*, and oppos
ror, ſuperſtition or idolatry. For this
Plato lays it down as a maxim, that *men*
to worſhip the gods according to the laws
country; and he introduces *Socrates*, i
laſt diſcourſe, utterly diſowning the crim
to his charge, of *teaching new divinit*
methods of worſhip. Thus the poor
nots of *France* were engaged in a civil w
the ſpecious pretences of ſome, who,
the guiſe of religion, ſacrificed ſo many
ſand lives to their own ambition and rev
Thus was the whole body of *puritans* in
land drawn to be inſtruments, or abett
all manner of villainy, by the artifices
few men, whoſe * deſigns, from the firſt,
levelled to deſtroy the conſtitution both
ligion and government. And thus ev
Holland itſelf, where it is pretended th
variety of ſects live ſo amicably together
in ſuch perfect obedience to the magi
it is notorious how a turbulent party, joi
with the *Arminians*, did, in the memo
our fathers, attempt to deſtroy the libe
that republic. So that upon the whole,
ſects are tolerated in a ſtate, it is fit they ſ
enjoy a full liberty of conſcience, and
other privilege of freeborn ſubjects, *to*
no power is annexed. And, to preſerve
obedience upon all emergencies, a go
ment cannot give them too much eaſe
truſt them with too little *power*.

* Lord *Clarendon*'s hiſtory.

The *clergy* are usually charged with a *persecuting spirit*, which they are said to discover *by* an implacable hatred to all *dissenters*; and this appears to be more unreasonable, because they suffer less in their interests by a *toleration*, than any of the *conforming laity*: for, while the *church* remains in its present form, no dissenter can possibly have any share in its dignities, revenues, or power; whereas, by once receiving the sacrament, he is rendered capable of the highest employments in the state. And it is very possible, that a narrow education, together with a mixture of human infirmity, may help to beget among some of the *clergy in possession* such an aversion and contempt for all *innovators*, as *physicians* are apt to have for *empirics*; or *lawyers* for *petti-foggers*, or *merchants* for *pedlars*; but since the number of sectaries doth not concern the clergy either in point of interest or conscience, (it being an evil not in their power to remedy) it is more fair and reasonable to suppose their dislike proceeds from the dangers they apprehend to the peace of the commonwealth, in the ruin whereof they must expect to be the first and greatest sufferers.

To conclude this *section*, it must be observed, that there is a very good word, which hath of late suffered much by both parties, I mean *moderation*, which the one side very justly disowns, and the other as unjustly pretends to. Beside what passes every day in conversation, any man who reads the papers published by Mr. *Lesley*, and others of his stamp,

ſtamp, muſt needs conclude, that, if this author could make the nation ſee his adverſaries under the colours he paints them in, we have nothing elſe to do, but riſe as one man, and deſtroy ſuch wretches from the face of the earth. On the other ſide how ſhall we excuſe the advocates for *moderation*; among whom I could appeal to a hundred papers of univerſal approbation by the cauſe they were writ for, which lay ſuch principles to the whole body of the *tories*, as, if they were true, and believed, our next buſineſs ſhould in prudence be to erect gibbets in every pariſh, and hang them out of the way. But I ſuppoſe it it preſumed, the common people underſtand *raillery*, or at leaſt *rhetoric*, and will not take *hyperboles* in too literal a ſenſe; which however in ſome junctures might prove a deſperate experiment. And this is *moderation* in the *modern* ſenſe of the word, to which, ſpeaking impartially, the bigots of both parties are *equally* intitled.

SECT. II.

The ſentiments of a church of England man, *with reſpect to government.*

WE look upon it as a very juſt reproach, though we cannot agree where to fix it, that there ſhould be ſo much violence and hatred in religious matters among men who agree in all fundamentals, and only differ in ſome ceremonies, or, at moſt, mere ſpeculative

tive points. Yet, is not this frequently the caſe between contending parties in a ſtate? for inſtance; do not the generality of *whigs* and *tories* among us profeſs to agree in the ſame *fundamentals*, their loyalty to the queen, their abjuration of the *pretender*, the ſettlement of the crown in the proteſtant line, and a revolution principle? their affection to the church eſtabliſhed, with toleration of diſſenters? nay, ſometimes they go farther, and paſs over into each other's principles; the *whigs* become great aſſertors of the prerogative, and the *tories* of the people's liberty; theſe crying down almoſt the whole ſett of biſhops, and thoſe defending them, ſo that the differences, fairly ſtated, would be much of a ſort with thoſe in religion among us, and amount to little more than, *who ſhould take place*, or *go in and out firſt*, or *kiſs the queen's hand*; and what are theſe but a few *court ceremonies?* or, *who ſhould be in the miniſtry?* and what is that to the body of the nation, but a mere *ſpeculative point?* yet I think it muſt be allowed, that no religious ſects ever carried their mutual averſions to greater heights than our ſtate-parties have done, who, the more to inflame their paſſions, have mixed religious and civil animoſities together; borrowing one of their appellations from the church, with the addition of *high* and *low*, how little ſoever their diſputes relate to the term, as it is generally underſtood.

I now proceed to deliver the ſentiments of a *church of England man*, with reſpect to government.

He doth not think the church of *England* ſo narrowly calculated, that it cannot fall in with any regular ſpecies of government; nor doth he think any one regular ſpecies of government more acceptable to God than another. The three generally received in the *ſchools* have all of them their ſeveral perfections, and are ſubject to their ſeveral depravations. However, few ſtates are ruined by any defect in their inſtitution, but generally by the corruption of manners, againſt which the beſt inſtitution is no longer a ſecurity, and without which a very ill one may ſubſiſt and flouriſh: whereof there are two pregnant inſtances now in *Europe*. The firſt is the *ariſtocracy* of *Venice*, which founded upon the wiſeſt maxims, and digeſted by a great length of time, hath in our age admitted ſo many abuſes through the degeneracy of the nobles that the period of its duration ſeems to approach. The other is the united republics of the *ſtates-general*, where a vein of temperance induſtry, parſimony, and a public ſpirit, running through the whole body of the people hath preſerved an infant commonwealth, an untimely birth and ſickly conſtitution, above an hundred years, through ſo many dangers and difficulties, as a much more healthy one could never have ſtruggled againſt without thoſe advantages.

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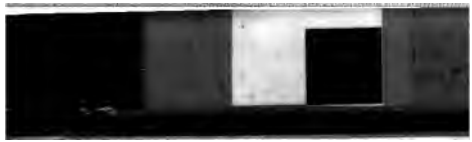


Where ſecurity of perſon and property are preſerved by laws, which none but the *whole* can repeal, there the great ends of government are provided for, whether the adminiſtration be in the hands of *one*, or of *many*. Where any one *perſon* or *body* of men, who do not repreſent the *whole*, ſeize into their hands the power in the laſt reſort, there is properly no longer a government, but what *Ariſtotle* and his followers call the *abuſe* and *corruption* of one. This diſtinction excludes arbitrary power, in whatever numbers; which, notwithſtanding all that *Hobbes*, *Filmer*, and others, have ſaid to its advantage, I look upon as a greater evil than *anarchy* itſelf, as much as a *ſavage* is in a happier ſtate of life, than a *ſlave* at the oar.

It is reckoned ill manners, as well as unreaſonable, for men to quarrel upon difference in opinion; becauſe that is uſually ſuppoſed to be a thing, which no man can help in himſelf; but this I do not conceive to be an univerſal infallible maxim, except in thoſe caſes where the queſtion is pretty equally diſputed among the learned and wiſe: where it is otherwiſe, a man of tolerable reaſon, ſome experience, and willing to be inſtructed, may apprehend he is got into a wrong opinion, tho' the whole courſe of his mind and inclination would perſuade him to believe it true; he may be convinced that he is in an error, tho' he does not ſee where it lies, by the bad effects of it in the common conduct of his life, and by obſerving thoſe perſons, for whoſe

wiſdom

wiſdom and goodneſs he hath the greateſt deference, to be of a contrary ſentiment. According to *Hobbes*'s compariſon of *reaſoning* with *caſting up accounts*, whoever finds a miſtake in the *ſum total*, muſt allow himſelf out, though after repeated trials he may not ſee in which article he has miſreckoned. I will inſtance in one opinion, which I look upon every man obliged in conſcience to quit, or prudence to conceal; I mean, that whoever argues in defence of abſolute power in a ſingle perſon, though he offers the old plauſible plea, that *it is his opinion, which he cannot help, unleſs he be convinced*, ought in all free ſtates to be treated as the common enemy of mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy charge upon the *clergy* of the two reigns before the *revolution*, who, under the terms of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, are ſaid to have preached up the unlimited power of the prince, becauſe they found it a doctrine that pleaſed the court, and made way for their preferment. And I believe, there may be truth enough in this accuſation to convince us, that human frailty will too often interpoſe itſelf among perſons of the holieſt function. However it may be offered in excuſe for the clergy, that in the beſt ſocieties there are ſome ill members, which a corrupted court and miniſtry will induſtriouſly find out and introduce. Beſides, it is manifeſt, that the greater number of thoſe, who held and preached this doctrine, were miſguided by equivocal terms, and by perfect ignorance in the principles of government,

ment, which they had not made any part of their ſtudy. The queſtion originally put, and as I remember to have heard it diſputed in public ſchools, was this, *Whether under any pretence whatſoever it may be lawful to reſiſt the ſupreme magiſtrate?* which was held in the negative; and this is certainly the right opinion. But many of the clergy and other learned men, deceived by a dubious expreſſion, miſtook the *object* to which *paſſive obedience* was due. By the *ſupreme magiſtrate* is properly underſtood the *legiſlative* power, which in all governments muſt be abſolute and unlimited. But the word *magiſtrate* ſeeming to denote a *ſingle perſon*, and to expreſs the executive power, it came to paſs, that the obedience due to the *legiſlature* was, for want of knowing or conſidering this eaſy diſtinction, miſapplied to the *adminiſtration*. Neither is it any wonder, that the clergy or other well-meaning people ſhould fall into this error, which deceived *Hobbes* himſelf ſo far, as to be the foundation of all the political miſtakes in his books, where he perpetually confounds the *executive* with the *legiſlative* power, though all well-inſtituted ſtates have ever placed them in different hands, as may be obvious to thoſe, who know any thing of *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, and other republics of *Greece*, as well as the greater ones of *Carthage* and *Rome*.

Beſides it is to be conſidered, that, when theſe doctrines began to be preached among us, the kingdom had not quite worn out the memory of that horrid *rebellion*, under the con-

ſequences of which it had groaned almoſt twenty years. And a *weak prince*, in conjunction with a ſucceſſion of moſt proſtitute miniſters, began again to diſpoſe the people to new attempts, which it was, no doubt, the clergy's duty to endeavour to prevent, though ſome of them for want of knowledge in temporal affairs, and others perhaps from a worſe principle, proceeded upon a topic, that, ſtrictly followed, would enſlave all mankind.

Among other theological arguments made uſe of in thoſe times in praiſe of monarchy, and juſtification of abſolute obedience to a prince, there ſeemed to be one of a ſingular nature: it was urged, that *heaven* was governed by a *monarch*, who had none to controul his power, but was abſolutely obeyed: then it followed, that earthly governments were the more perfect, the nearer they imitated the government in heaven. All which I look upon as the ſtrongeſt argument againſt deſpotic power that ever was offered; ſince no reaſon can poſſibly be aſſigned; why it is beſt for the world, that God almighty hath ſuch a power, which doth not directly prove that no mortal man ſhould ever have the like.

But, though a *church of England man* thinks every ſpecies of government equally *lawful*, he does not think them equally *expedient* or for every country indifferently. There may be ſomething in the climate, naturally diſpoſing men towards one ſort of obedience as it is manifeſt all over *Aſia*, where we never read of any commonwealth, except ſome ſmall

or

ones on the weſtern coaſts eſtabliſhed by the *Greeks*. There may be a great deal in the ſituation of a country, and in the preſent *genius* of the people. It hath been obſerved, that the temperate climates uſually run into moderate governments, and the extremes into deſpotic power. It is a remark of *Hobbes*, that the youth of *England* are corrupted in their principles of government by reading the authors of *Greece* and *Rome*, who writ under commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered for the honour of liberty, that, while the reſt of the known world was over-run with the arbitrary government of ſingle perſons, *arts* and *ſciences* took their riſe, and flouriſhed, only in thoſe few ſmall territories, where the people were *free*. And though *learning* may continue after *liberty* is loſt, as it did in *Rome* for a while upon the foundations laid under the commonwealth, and the particular patronage of ſome emperors, yet it hardly ever began under a *tyranny* in any nation: becauſe *ſlavery* is of all things the greateſt clog and obſtacle to *ſpeculation*. And, indeed, arbitrary power is but the firſt natural ſtep from *anarchy* or the *ſavage life*; the adjuſting *power* and *freedom* being an effect and conſequence of maturer thinking: and this is no where ſo duly regulated as in a limited monarchy: becauſe I believe it may paſs for a maxim in ſtate, that *the adminiſtration cannot be placed in too* few *hands*, nor the *legiſlature in too* many. Now in this material point the conſtitution of the *Engliſh* govern-

ment far exceeds all others at this time on the earth, to which the preſent eſtabliſhment of the *church* doth ſo happily agree, that, I think, whoever is an enemy to *either*, muſt of neceſſity be ſo to *both*.

He thinks, as our monarchy is conſtituted, an *hereditary* right is much to be preferred before *election*. Becauſe the government here, eſpecially by ſome late amendments, is ſo regularly diſpoſed in all its parts, that it almoſt *executes* itſelf. And therefore, upon the death of a prince among us, the adminiſtration goes on without any rub or interruption. For the ſame reaſons we have leſs to apprehend from the *weakneſs* or *fury* of our monarchs, who have ſuch wiſe councils to guide the firſt, and laws to reſtrain the other. And therefore this hereditary right ſhould be kept ſo ſacred, as never to break the ſucceſſion, unleſs where the preſerving it may endanger the conſtitution; which is not from any intrinſic merit, or unalienable right in a *particular family*, but to avoid the conſequences that uſually attend the ambition of competitors, to which elective kingdoms are expoſed; and which is the only obſtacle to hinder them from arriving at the greateſt perfection that government can poſſibly reach. Hence appears the abſurdity of that diſtinction between a king *de facto*, and one *de jure*, with reſpect to us. For every limited monarch is a king *de jure*, becauſe he governs by the conſent of the *whole*, which is authority ſufficient to aboliſh all precedent right. If a king come in

by

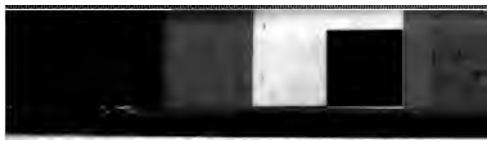
by *conqueſt*, he is no longer a *limited* monarch; if he afterwards conſent to limitations, he becomes immediately king *de jure* for the ſame reaſon.

The great advocates for *ſucceſſion*, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any regard or conſideration whatſoever, do inſiſt much upon one argument, that ſeems to carry little weight. They would have it, that a crown is a prince's birth-right, and ought at leaſt to be as well ſecured to him and his poſterity, as the inheritance of any private man; in ſhort, that he has the ſame title to his kingdom, which every individual has to his property: now the conſequence of this doctrine muſt be, that as a man may find ſeveral ways to waſte, miſpend, or abuſe his patrimony, without being anſwerable to the laws; ſo a king may in like manner do what he will with *his own*; that is, he may ſquander and miſapply his revenues, and even alienate the crown, without being called to an account by his ſubjects. They allow ſuch a prince to be guilty indeed of much folly and wickedneſs, but for theſe he is *anſwerable to God*, as every private man muſt be that is guilty of miſmanagement in his own concerns. Now the folly of this reaſoning will beſt appear, by applying it in a parallel caſe: ſhould any man argue, that a phyſician is ſuppoſed to underſtand his own art beſt; that the law protects and encourages his profeſſion; and therefore, although he ſhould manifeſtly preſcribe *poiſon* to all his patients, whereof they

ſhould immediately die, he cannot be juſtly puniſhed, but is anſwerable only to God: or ſhould the ſame be offered in behalf of a divine, who would preach againſt religion and moral duties: in either of theſe two caſes, every body would find out the ſophiſtry, and preſently anſwer, that although common men are not exactly ſkilled in the compoſition or application of medicines, or in preſcribing the limits of duty; yet the difference between *poiſons* and *remedies* is eaſily known by their effects; and common reaſon ſoon diſtinguiſhes between *virtue* and *vice*: and it muſt be neceſſary to forbid both theſe the further practice of their profeſſions, becauſe their crimes are not purely perſonal to the phyſician or the divine, but deſtructive to the public. All which is infinitely ſtronger in reſpect to a prince, in whoſe good or ill conduct the happineſs or miſery of a whole nation is included; whereas it is of ſmall conſequence to the public, farther than example, how any private perſon manageth his property.

But granting that the right of a lineal ſucceſſor to a crown were upon the ſame foot with the property of a ſubject; ſtill it may at any time be transferred by the legiſlative power, as other properties frequently are. The ſupreme power in a ſtate can *do no wrong*, becauſe whatever that doth, is the action of all: and, when the *lawyers* apply this maxim to the *king*, they muſt underſtand it only in that ſenſe, as he is adminiſtrator of the ſupreme *power*; otherwiſe it is not univerſally true,

but



but may be controuled in ſeveral inſtances eaſy to produce.

And theſe are the topics we muſt proceed upon to juſtify our excluſion of the young *Pretender* in *France*; that of his ſuſpected birth being merely popular, and therefore not made uſe of, as I remember, ſince the revolution, in any ſpeech, vote, or proclamation, where there was any occaſion to mention him.

As to the *abdication* of king *James*, which the advocates on that ſide look upon to have been forcible and unjuſt, and conſequently void in itſelf, I think a man may obſerve every article of the *Engliſh* church, without being in much pain about it. It is not unlikely that all doors were laid open for his departure, and perhaps not without the privity of the prince of *Orange*, as reaſonably concluding, that the kingdom might better be ſettled in his abſence: but to affirm he had any cauſe to apprehend the ſame treatment with his *father*, is an improbable ſcandal flung upon the nation by a few bigotted *French* ſcribblers, or the invidious aſſertion of a ruined party at home in the bitterneſs of their ſouls, not one material circumſtance agreeing with thoſe in 1648; and the greateſt part of the nation having preſerved the utmoſt horror for that ignominious *murder*: but whether his removal were cauſed by his own *fears*, or other men's *artifice*, it is manifeſt to me, that ſuppoſing the throne to be vacant, which was the foot the nation went upon, the body of the people was thereupon left at liberty to

chuſe

chuſe what form of government they plea
by themſelves or their repreſentatives.

The only difficulty of any weight ag
the proceedings at the revolution, is an
vious objection, to which the writers u
that ſubject have not yet given a direct or
ficient anſwer, as if they were in pain at
conſequences, which they apprehend tho
the contrary opinion might draw from it.
will repeat this objection, as it was off
me ſome time ago with all its advantage
a very pious, learned, and worthy gentle
of the nonjuring-party *.

The force of his argument turned
this; that the laws made by the ſupr
power cannot otherwiſe than by the ſupr
power be annulled: that this conſiſtin
England of a king, lords, and comm
whereof each have a negative voice, no
of them can repeal or enact a law wit
conſent of the third; much leſs may any
of them be intirely excluded from its pa
the legiſlature by a *vote* of the other
That all theſe maxims were openly viol
at the revolution; where an aſſembly of
nobles and *people*, not ſummoned by the ki
writ (which was an eſſential part of the
ſtitution) and conſequently no lawful m
ing, did merely upon their own authority
clare the king to have abdicated, the th
vacant, and gave the crown by a vote

nepl

* Mr. *Nelſon*, author of the Feaſts and Fa
the church of England.

nephew, when there were three children to inherit, though, by the fundamental laws of the realm, the next heir is immediately to ſucceed. Neither doth it appear, how a prince's *abdication* can make any other ſort of vacancy in the throne, than would be cauſed by his death, ſince he cannot abdicate for his children, (who claim their right of ſucceſſion by act of parliament) otherwiſe than by his own conſent in form to a bill from the two houſes.

And this is the difficulty, that ſeems chiefly to ſtick with the moſt reaſonable of thoſe, who, from a mere ſcruple of conſcience, refuſe to join with us upon the revolution principle; but for the reſt are, I believe, as far from loving arbitrary government, as any others can be, who are born under a free conſtitution, and are allowed to have the leaſt ſhare of common good ſenſe.

In this objection there are two queſtions included: firſt, whether upon the foot of our conſtitution, as it ſtood in the reign of the late king *James*, a king of *England* may be depoſed? The ſecond is, whether the people of *England*, convened by their own authority, after the king had withdrawn himſelf in the manner he did, had power to alter the ſucceſſion?

As for the firſt, it is a point I ſhall not preſume to determine; and ſhall therefore only ſay, that, to any man who holds the negative, I would demand the liberty of putting the caſe as ſtrongly as I pleaſe. I will ſuppoſe

poſe a prince limited by laws like ours, yet running into a thouſand caprices of cruelty like *Nero* or *Caligula*; I will ſuppoſe him to murder his mother and his wife: to commit inceſt, to raviſh matrons, to blow up the ſenate, and burn his metropolis; openly to renounce God and Chriſt, and worſhip the devil: theſe and the like exorbitances are in the power of a ſingle perſon to commit, without the advice of a miniſtry, or aſſiſtance of an army. And if ſuch a king, as I have deſcribed, cannot be depoſed but by his own conſent in parliament, I do not well ſee how he can be *reſiſted*, or what can be meant by a *limited* monarchy; or what ſignifies the people's conſent in making and repealing laws, if the perſon who adminiſters hath no tie but conſcience, and is anſwerable to none but God. I deſire no ſtronger proof that an opinion muſt be falſe, than to find very great abſurdities annexed to it; and there cannot be greater than in the preſent caſe; for it is not a bare ſpeculation that kings may run into ſuch enormities as are above-mentioned; the practice may be proved by examples not only drawn from the firſt *Cæſars*, or later emperors, but many modern princes of *Europe*; ſuch as *Peter the cruel*, *Philip the ſecond of Spain*, *John Baſilovits of Muſcovy*, and, in our own nation, king *John*, *Richard the third*, and *Henry the eighth*. But there cannot be equal abſurdities ſuppoſed in maintaining the contrary opinion; becauſe it is certain, that princes have it in their power to keep a majo-

rity

eir ſide by any tolerable adminiſtra-
provoked by continual oppreſſions;
indeed can then anſwer, where the
of the people will ſtop.

the ſecond part of the objection;
he people of *England* convened by
authority, upon king *James*'s pre-
eparture, had power to alter the ſuc-

wer to this, I think it is manifeſt
practice of the wiſeſt nations, and
to have had the trueſt notions of
that, when a prince was laid aſide
adminiſtration, the *nobles* and *people*,
hought it neceſſary for the public
reſume the adminiſtration of the ſu-
wer, (the power itſelf having been
them) and did not only alter the
, but often the very form of govern-
; becauſe they believed there was no
ight in one man to govern another,
ll was by inſtitution, force, or con-
hus, the cities of *Greece*, when they
their tyrannical kings, either choſe
om a new family, or aboliſhed the
vernment, and became free ſtates.
Romans, upon the expulſion of *Tar-*
nd it inconvenient for them to be
y longer to the pride, the luſt, the
nd arbitrary will of ſingle perſons,
fore by general conſent intirely al-
whole frame of their government.
I find the proceedings of either, in

this

this point, to have been condemned by any hiſtorian of the ſucceeding ages.

But a great deal hath been already ſaid by other writers upon this invidious and beaten ſubject; therefore I ſhall let it fall; though the point is commonly miſtaken, eſpecially by the *lawyers*; who of all others ſeem leaſt to underſtand the nature of government in general; like under-workmen, who are expert enough at making a ſingle wheel in a clock, but are utterly ignorant how to adjuſt the ſeveral parts, or regulate the movements.

To return therefore from this digreſſion; it is a *church of England man*'s opinion, that the freedom of a nation conſiſts in an abſolute *unlimited legiſlative power*, wherein the whole body of the people are fairly repreſented, and in an *executive* duly *limited*; becauſe on this ſide likewiſe there may be dangerous degrees, and a very ill extreme. For when two parties in a ſtate are pretty equal in *power*, *pretenſions*, *merit* and *virtue*, (for theſe two laſt are, with relation to parties and a court, quite different things) it hath been the opinion of the beſt writers upon government, that a prince ought not in any ſort to be under the guidance or influence of either, becauſe he declines by this means from his office of preſiding over the *whole*, to be the head of a *party*, which beſides the indignity, renders him anſwerable for all public miſmanagements, and the conſequences of them; and, in whatever ſtate this happens, there muſt either be a weakneſs in the prince or miniſtry, or elſe the former

so much reſtrained by the nobles, or thoſe who repreſent the people.

To conclude: A *church of England man* may with prudence and a good conſcience approve the profeſſed principles of one party more than the other, according as he thinks they beſt promote the good of church and ſtate; but he will never be ſwayed by paſſion or intereſt to advance an opinion, merely becauſe it is *that* of the party he moſt approves; which one ſingle principle he looks upon as the root of all our civil animoſities. To enter into a party, as into an order of *friers*, with ſo reſigned an obedience to ſuperiors, is very unſuitable both with the civil and religious liberties we ſo zealouſly aſſert. Thus the underſtandings of a whole ſenate are often enſlaved by three or four leaders on each ſide, who, inſtead of intending the public weal, have their hearts wholly ſet upon ways and means how to get or to keep employments. But to ſpeak more at large, how has this ſpirit of faction mingled itſelf with the maſs of the people, changed their nature and manners, and the very genius of the nation? broke all the laws of charity, neighbourhood, alliance, and hoſpitality, deſtroyed all ties of friendſhip, and divided families againſt themſelves? and no wonder it ſhould be ſo, when in order to find out the character of a perſon, inſtead of inquiring whether he be a man of virtue, honour, piety, wit, good ſenſe, or learning; the modern queſtion is only, whether he be a

whig or a *tory*, under which terms all goo and ill qualities are included.

Now, becauſe it is a point of difficulty t chuſe an exact middle between two ill ex tremes, it may be worth inquiring in the pre ſent caſe, which of theſe a wiſe and good ma would rather ſeem to avoid: taking therefo their own good and ill characters with due abatements and allowances for partiality an paſſion, I ſhould think that, in order to pre ſerve the conſtitution intire in church and ſta whoever hath a true value for both, would b ſure to avoid the extremes of *whig* for th ſake of the former, and the extremes of *to* on account of the latter.

I have now ſaid all that I could think con venient upon ſo nice a ſubject, and find I ha the ambition common with other reaſoners to wiſh at leaſt that both parties may think t *in the right*, which would be of ſome uſe thoſe who have any virtue left, but are blin ly drawn into the extravagancies of either, u on falſe repreſentations, to ſerve the ambiti or malice of deſigning men, without any pr ſpect of their own. But, if that is not to hoped for, my next wiſh ſhould be that be might think me *in the wrong*: which I wou underſtand as an ample juſtification of myſe and a ſure ground to believe, that I have pr ceeded at leaſt with impartiality, and perha with truth.

AN ARGUMENT

To prove that the ABOLISHING of

CHRISTIANITY IN ENGLAND

may, as things now ſtand, be attended with ſome inconveniences, and perhaps not produce thoſe many good effects propoſed thereby.

Written in the year 1708.

I AM very ſenſible, what a weakneſs and preſumption it is to reaſon againſt the general humour and diſpoſition of the world. I remember it was with great juſtice, and a due regard to the freedom, both of the public and the preſs, forbidden upon ſeveſe penalties to write, or diſcourſe, or lay wagers againſt the *union*, even before it was confirmed by parliament; becauſe that was looked upon as a deſign to oppoſe the current of the people, which, beſides the folly of it, is a manifeſt breach of the fundamental law, that makes the majority of opinion the voice of God. In like manner, and for the very ſame reaſons,

ıy perhaps be neither ſafe nor prudent to
ıe againſt the aboliſhing of chriſtianity
juncture, when all parties appear ſo una-
ıouſly determined upon the point, as we
ınot but allow from their actions, their
courſes, and their writings. However, I
ıow not how, whether from the affectation
ſingularity, or the perverſeneſs of human
ature, but ſo it unhappily falls out, that I
annot be intirely of this opinion. Nay,
hough I were ſure an order were iſſued for
my immediate proſecution by the attorney-
general, I ſhould ſtill confeſs, that in the pre-
ſent poſture of our affairs at home or abroad
I do not yet ſee the abſolute neceſſity of ex-
tirpating the chriſtian religion from among
us.

This perhaps may appear too great a para-
dox even for our wiſe and paradoxical age to
endure; therefore I ſhall handle it with all
the tenderneſs, and with the utmoſt deference
to that great and profound majority, which
is of another ſentiment.

And yet the curious may pleaſe to obſerve
how much the genius of a nation is liable t
alter in half an age: I have heard it affirme
for certain by ſome very old people, that t
contrary opinion was even in their memor
as much in vogue as the other is now; a
that a project for aboliſhing chriſtianity wo
then have appeared as ſingular, and b
thought as abſurd, as it would be at this t
to write or diſcourſe in its defence.

Therefore I freely own, that all appearances are againſt me. The ſyſtem of the goſpel, after the fate of other ſyſtems, is generally antiquated and exploded, and the maſs or body of the common people, among whom it ſeems to have had its lateſt credit, are now grown as much aſhamed of it as their betters; opinions like faſhions, always deſcending from thoſe of quality to the middle ſort, and thence to the vulgar, where at length they are dropped and vaniſh.

But here I would not be miſtaken, and muſt therefore be ſo bold as to borrow a diſtinction from the writers on the other ſide, when they make a difference between nominal and real *trinitarians*. I hope no reader imagines me ſo weak to ſtand up in the defence of real chriſtianity, ſuch as uſed in primitive times (if we may believe the authors of thoſe ages) to have an influence upon mens belief and actions: to offer at the reſtoring of that would indeed be a wild project; it would be to dig up foundations; to deſtroy at one blow all the wit, and half the learning of the kingdom; to break the intire frame and conſtitution of things; to ruin trade, extinguiſh arts and ſciences, with the profeſſors of them; in ſhort, to turn our courts, exchanges, and ſhops into deſarts; and would be full as abſurd as the propoſal of *Horace*, where he adviſes the *Romans*, all in a body, to leave their city, and ſeek a new ſeat in ſome remote part of the world, by way of cure for the corruption of their manners,

Therefore I think this caution was i
altogether unneceſſary, (which I have i
only to prevent all poſſibility of ca
ſince every candid reader will eaſily
ſtand my diſcourſe to be intended only
ſence of nominal chriſtianity, the oth
ing been for ſome time wholly laid a
general conſent, as utterly inconſiſte
our preſent ſchemes of wealth and pow

But why we ſhould therefore caſt
name and title of chriſtians, although
neral opinion and reſolution be ſo viol
it, I confeſs I cannot (with ſubmiſſi
prehend, nor is the conſequence ne
However, ſince the undertakers propo
wonderful advantages to the nation
project, and advance many plauſible
ons againſt the ſyſtem of chriſtianity,
briefly conſider the ſtrength of both,
allow them their greateſt weight, ar
ſuch anſwers as I think moſt reaſ
After which I will beg leave to ſhew
inconveniencies may poſſibly happen
an innovation in the preſent poſture of
fairs.

Firſt, one great advantage propoſed
aboliſhing of chriſtianity is, that it wou
much enlarge and eſtabliſh liberty o
ſcience, that great bulwark of our
and of the proteſtant religion, which
too much limited by prieſtcraft, notwit
ing all the good intentions of the legi
as we have lately found by a ſevere in
For it is confidently reported, that two

gentlemen of real hopes, bright wit, and profound judgment, who, upon a thorough examination of cauſes and effects, and by the mere force of natural abilities, without the leaſt tincture of learning, having made a diſcovery, that there was no God, and generouſly communicating their thoughts for the good of the public, were ſome time ago, by an unparalleled ſeverity, and upon I know not what obſolete law, broke for blaſphemy. And as it hath been wiſely obſerved, if perſecution once begins, no man alive knows how far it may reach, or where it will end.

In anſwer to all which, with deference to wiſer judgments, I think this rather ſhews the neceſſity of a nominal religion among us. Great wits love to be free with the higheſt objects; and, if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce, they will ſpeak evil of dignities, abuſe the government, and reflect upon the miniſtry; which I am ſure few will deny to be of much more pernicious conſequence, according to the ſaying of *Tiberius*, *deorum offenſa diis curæ*. As to the particular fact related, I think it is not fair to argue from one inſtance, perhaps another cannot be produced: yet (to the comfort of all thoſe who may be apprehenſive of perſecution) blaſphemy we know is freely ſpoken a million of times in every coffee-houſe and tavern, or where-ever elſe good company meet. It muſt be allowed indeed, that to break an *engliſh* free-born officer only for blaſphemy, was, to ſpeak the gentleſt of ſuch an action,

a very high ſtrain of abſolute power. Little can be ſaid in excuſe for the general; perhaps he was afraid it might give offence to the allies, among whom, for aught we know, it may be the cuſtom of the country to believe a God. But if he argued, as ſome have done, upon a miſtaken principle, that an officer who is guilty of ſpeaking blaſphemy, may ſome time or other proceed ſo far as to raiſe a mutiny, the conſequence is by no means to be admitted; for ſurely the commander of an *engliſh* army is like to be but ill obeyed, whoſe ſoldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

It is further objected againſt the goſpel ſyſtem, that it obliges men to the belief of things too difficult for free-thinkers, and ſuch who have ſhaken off the prejudices that uſually cling to a confined education. To which I anſwer, that men ſhould be cautious how they raiſe objections, which reflect upon the wiſdom of the nation. Is not every body freely allowed to believe whatever he pleaſeth, and to publiſh his belief to the world whenever he thinks fit, eſpecially if it ſerves to ſtrengthen the party, which is in the right? Would any indifferent foreigner, who ſhould read the trumpery lately written by * *Aſgil*, *Tin-*

* *Aſgil* wrote an argument to prove, that men may be tranſlated from hence into eternal life, without paſſing through death.

Toland publiſhed ſome deiſtical books.

Tin-

Tindal, *Toland*, *Coward*, and forty more, imagine the gospel to be our rule of faith and confirmed by parliaments? Does any man either believe, or say he believes, or desire to have it thought that he says he believes one syllable of the matter? And is any man worse received upon that score, or does he find his want of nominal faith a disadvantage to him in the pursuit of any civil or military employment? What if there be an old dormant statute or two against him, are they not now obsolete to a degree, that *Empson* and *Dudley* themselves, if they were now alive, would find it impossible to put them in execution.

It is likewise urged, that there are by computation in this kingdom above ten thousand parsons, whose revenues, added to those of my lords the bishops, would suffice to maintain at least two hundred young gentlemen of wit and pleasure, and free-thinking, enemies to priestcraft, narrow principles, pedantry, and prejudices, who might be an ornament to the court and town: and, then again, so great a number of able [bodied] divines might be a recruit to our fleet and armies. This indeed appears to be a consideration of some weight: but then, on the other side, several things deserve to be considered likewise:

Tindal's writings were blasphemous and atheistical.

Coward asserted the mortality of the soul, and alledged *the seat of it* to be in the blood.

wiſe: as, firſt, whether it may not be thought neceſſary, that in certain tracts of country, like what we call pariſhes, there ſhould be one man at leaſt of abilities to read and write. Then it ſeems a wrong computation, that the revenues of the church throughout this iſland would be large enough to maintain two hundred young gentlemen, or even half that number, after the preſent refined way of living, that is, to allow each of them ſuch a rent, as, in the modern form of ſpeech, would make them eaſy. But ſtill there is in this project a greater miſchief behind; and we ought to beware of the woman's folly, who killed the hen that every morning laid her a golden egg. For, pray what would become of the race of men in the next age, if we had nothing to truſt to beſide the ſcrophulous conſumptive productions furniſhed by our men of wit and pleaſure, when having ſquandered away their vigour, health and eſtates, they are forced, by ſome diſagreeable marriage, to piece up their broken fortunes, and entail rottenneſs and politeneſs on their poſterity? Now, here are ten thouſand perſons reduced, by the wiſe regulations of *Henry* the eighth, to the neceſſity of a low diet, and a moderate exerciſe, who are the only great reſtorers of our breed, without which the nation would in an age or two become one great hoſpital.

Another advantage propoſed by the aboliſhing of chriſtianity is the clear gain of one day in ſeven, which is now intirely loſt, and conſe-

conſequently the kingdom one ſeventh leſs conſiderable in trade, buſineſs, and pleaſure; beſides the loſs to the public of ſo many ſtately ſtructures now in the hands of the clergy, which might be converted into play-houſes, market-houſes, exchanges, common dormitories, and other public edifices.

I hope I ſhall be forgiven a hard word if I call this a cavil. I readily own there hath been an old cuſtom, time out of mind, for people to aſſemble in the churches every *Sunday*, and that ſhops are ſtill frequently ſhut up, in order, as it is conceived, to preſerve the memory of that antient practice; but how this can prove a hindrance to buſineſs or pleaſure, is hard to imagine. What if the men of pleaſure are forced, one day in the week, to game at home inſtead of the *chocolate-houſe*? are not the *taverns* and *coffee-houſes* open? can there be a more convenient ſeaſon for taking a doſe of phyſic? are fewer claps got upon *Sundays* than other days? is not that the chief day for traders to ſum up the accounts of the week, and for lawyers to prepare their briefs? but I would fain know, how it can be pretended, that the churches are miſapplied? where are more appointments and rendezvouſes of gallantry? where more care to appear in the foremoſt box, with greater advantage of dreſs? where more meetings for buſineſs? where more bargains driven of all ſorts? and where ſo many conveniencies of incitements to ſleep?

There is one advantage, greater than any of the foregoing, propoſed by the aboliſhing of chriſtianity; that it will utterly extinguiſh parties among us, by removing thoſe factious diſtinctions of high and low-church, of *whig* and *tory*, *preſbyterian* and *church of England*, which are now ſo many grievous clogs upon public proceedings, and are apt to diſpoſe men to prefer the gratifying themſelves or depreſſing their adverſaries, before the moſt important intereſt of the ſtate.

I confeſs, if it were certain, that ſo great an advantage would redound to the nation by this expedient, I would ſubmit, and be ſilent: but will any man ſay, that if the words *whoring*, *drinking*, *cheating*, *lying*, *ſtealing*, were by act of parliament ejected out of the *Engliſh* tongue and dictionaries, we ſhould all awake next morning chaſte and temperate, honeſt and juſt, and lovers of truth. Is this a fair conſequence? or if the phyſicians would forbid us to pronounce the words *poſt*, *gout*, *rheumatiſm*, and *ſtone*, would that expedient ſerve like ſo many *taliſmans* to deſtroy the diſeaſes themſelves? are party and faction rooted in men's hearts no deeper than phraſes borrowed from religion, or founded upon no firmer principles? and is our own language ſo poor, that we cannot find other terms to expreſs them? are envy, pride, avarice, and ambition ſuch ill nomenclators, that they cannot furniſh appellations for their owners? will not *beydukes* and *mamalukes*, *mandarines*, and *patſhaws*, or any other words formed at

pleaſure, ſerve to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are in the miniſtry from others, who would be in it if they could? what, for inſtance, is eaſier than to vary the form of ſpeech, and, inſtead of the word church, make it a queſtion in politics, whether the monument be in danger? becauſe religion was neareſt at hand to furniſh a few convenient phraſes, is our invention ſo barren, we can find no other? ſuppoſe for argument ſake, that the *tories* favoured *Margarita* *, the *whigs* Mrs. *Tofts*, and the *Trimmers Valentini*, would not *Margaritians*, *Toftians*, and *Valentinians* be very tolerable marks of diſtinction? the *Praſini* and *Veniti*, two moſt virulent factions in *Italy*, began (if I remember right) by a diſtinction of colours in ribbands: and we might contend with as good a grace about the dignity of the *blue* and the *green*, which would ſerve as properly to divide the court, the parliament, and the kingdom between them, as any terms of art whatſoever borrowed from religion. And therefore I think there is little force in this objection againſt chriſtianity, or proſpect of ſo great an advantage as is propoſed in the aboliſhing of it.

It is again objected, as a very abſurd ridiculous cuſtom, that a ſett of men ſhould be ſuffered, much leſs employed and hired, to bawl one day in ſeven againſt the lawfulneſs of thoſe methods moſt in uſe towards the purſuit

* Italian ſingers then in vogue: Margarita was *afterwards married* to Dr. Pepuſche.

ſuit of greatneſs, riches, and pleaſure, are the conſtant practice of all men al the other ſix. But this objection is, I a little unworthy ſo refined an age as Let us argue this matter calmly: I ap the breaſt of any polite free-thinker, wi in the purſuit of gratifying a predo paſſion, he hath not always felt a wor incitement by reflecting it was a thin bidden: and therefore we ſee, in order tivate this taſte the wiſdom of the natio taken ſpecial care, that the ladies ſho furniſhed with prohibited ſilks, and th with prohibited wine. And indeed i to be wiſhed, that ſome other prohi were promoted, in order to improve th ſures of the town; which for want o expedients begin already, as I am t flag and grow languid, giving way d cruel inroads from the ſpleen.

It is likewiſe propoſed as a great adv to the public, that, if we once diſcard t tem of the goſpel, all religion will of be baniſhed for ever, and conſequently with it thoſe grievous prejudices of edu which, under the names of virtue, con honour, juſtice, and the like, are ſo diſturb the peace of human minds, a notions whereof are ſo hard to be era by right reaſon or free-thinking, ſou during the whole courſe of our lives.

Here firſt I obſerve, how difficult i get rid of a phraſe, which the world grown fond of, though the occaſion th

produced it be intirely taken away. For ſeveral years paſt, if a man had but an ill-favoured noſe, the deep thinkers of the age would ſome way or other contrive to impute the cauſe to the prejudice of his education. From this fountain are ſaid to be derived all our foolish notions of juſtice, piety, love of our country; all our opinions of God or a future ſtate, heaven, hell, and the like: and there might formerly perhaps have been ſome pretence for this charge. But ſo effectual care *hath* been ſince taken to remove thoſe prejudices, by an intire change in the methods of education, that (with honour I mention it to our polite innovators) the young gentlemen, who are now on the ſcene, ſeem not to have the leaſt tincture left of thoſe infuſions, or ſtring of thoſe weeds; and by conſequence the reaſon for abolishing nominal chriſtianity, upon that pretext, is wholly ceaſed.

For the reſt, it may perhaps admit a controverſy, whether the baniſhing all notions of religion whatſoever would be convenient for the vulgar. Not that I am in the leaſt of opinion with thoſe, who hold religion to have been the invention of politicians to keep the lower part of the world in awe by the fear of invisible powers; unleſs mankind were then very different from what it is now: for I look upon the maſs or body of people here in *England* to be as free-thinkers, that is to ſay, as ſtaunch unbelievers, as any of the higheſt rank. But I conceive ſome ſcattered notions about a ſuperior power to be of ſin-

gular

gular uſe for the common people, as furniſhing excellent materials to keep children quiet when they grow peeviſh, and providing topics of amuſement in a tedious winter-night.

Laſtly, It is propoſed, as a ſingular advantage, that the aboliſhing of chriſtianity will very much contribute to the uniting of *proteſtants*, by enlarging the terms of communion, ſo as to take in all ſorts of *diſſenters*, who are now ſhut out of the pale upon account of a few ceremonies, which all ſides confeſs to be things indifferent: that this alone will effectually anſwer the great ends of a ſcheme for comprehenſion by opening a large noble gate, at which all bodies may enter: whereas the chaffering with *diſſenters*, and dodging about this or the other ceremony, is but like opening a few wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a time, and that not without ſtooping, and ſideling, and ſqueeſing his body.

To all this I anſwer, that there is one darling inclination of mankind, which uſually affects to be a retainer to religion, though ſhe be neither its parent, its god-mother, or its friend; I mean the ſpirit of oppoſition, that lived long before chriſtianity, and can eaſily ſubſiſt without it. Let us, for inſtance, examine wherein the oppoſition of ſectaries among us conſiſts; we ſhall find chriſtianity to have no ſhare in it at all. Does the goſpel any where preſcribe a ſtarched ſqueeſed countenance, a ſtiff formal gait, a ſingularity of

of manners and habit, or any affected modes of ſpeech different from the reaſonable part of mankind? Yet, if chriſtianity did not lend its name to ſtand in the gap, and to employ or divert theſe humours, they muſt of neceſſity be ſpent in contraventions to the laws of the land, and diſturbance of the public peace. There is a portion of enthuſiaſm aſſigned to every nation, which, if it hath not proper objects to work on, will burſt out, and ſet all in a flame. If the quiet of a ſtate can be bought by only ſlinging men a few ceremonies to devour, it is a purchaſe no wiſe man would refuſe. Let the maſtiffs amuſe themſelves with a ſheep's ſkin ſtuffed with hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the flock. The inſtitution of convents abroad ſeems in one point a ſtrain of great wiſdom, there being few irregularities in human paſſions, that may not have recourſe to vend themſelves in ſome of thoſe orders, which are ſo many retreats for the ſpeculative, the melancholy, the proud, the ſilent, the politic, and the moroſe, to ſpend themſelves, and evaporate the obnoxious particles; for each of whom we in this iſland are forced to provide a ſeveral ſect of religion, to keep them quiet; and, whenever chriſtianity ſhall be aboliſhed, the legiſlature muſt find ſome other expedient to employ and entertain them. For what imports it how large a gate you open, if there will be always left a number, who place a pride and a merit in refuſing to enter?

Having

Having thus conſidered the moſt imp
objections againſt chriſtianity, and the
advantages propoſed by the aboliſhing
of; I ſhall now with equal deference an
miſſion to wiſer judgments, as before
ceed to mention a few inconveniencie
may happen, if the goſpel ſhould be rep
which perhaps the projectors may not
ſufficiently conſidered.

And, firſt, I am very ſenſible how
the gentlemen of wit and pleaſure are
murmur, and be choaked at the ſight
many daggled-tail parſons, who happ
fall in their way, and offend their eyes
at the ſame time theſe wiſe reformers
conſider, what an advantage and feli
is for great wits to be always provide
objects of ſcorn and contempt, in or
exerciſe and improve their talents, and
their ſpleen from falling on each other,
themſelves, eſpecially when all this m
done without the leaſt imaginable dan
their perſons.

And to urge another argument of
rallel nature: if chriſtianity were once
liſhed, how could the free-thinkers, the
reaſoners, and the men of profound lea
be able to find another ſubject ſo calc
in all points whereon to diſplay their
ties? what wonderful productions c
ſhould we be deprived of from thoſe,
genius by continual practice hath been
turned upon raillery and invectives agai
ligion, and would therefore never be

ſhine or diſtinguiſh themſelves upon any other ſubject; we are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us, and would we take away the greateſt, perhaps the only topic we have left? who would ever have ſuſpected *Aſgil* for a wit, or *Toland* for a philoſopher, if the inexhauſtible ſtock of chriſtianity had not been at hand to provide them with materials? what other ſubject through all art or nature could have produced *Tindal* for a profound author, or furniſhed him with readers? it is the wiſe choice of the ſubject that alone adorns and diſtinguiſhes the writer. For, had an hundred ſuch pens as theſe been employed on the ſide of religion, they would have immediately ſunk into ſilence and oblivion.

Nor do I think it wholly groundleſs, or my fears altogether imaginary, that the abolishing of chriſtianity may perhaps bring the church in danger, or at leaſt put the ſenate to the trouble of another ſecuring vote. I deſire I may not be miſtaken; I am far from preſuming to affirm or think, that the church is in danger at preſent, or as things now ſtand; but we know not how ſoon it may be ſo, when the chriſtian religion is repealed. As plauſible as this project ſeems, there may be a dangerous deſign lurking under it. Nothing can be more notorious, than that the *atheiſts*, *deiſts*, *ſocinians*, *anti-trinitarians*, and other ſub-diviſions of free-thinkers, are perſons of little zeal for the preſent eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment: their declared opinion is repealing the ſacramental teſt; they are very indifferent

different with regard to ceremonies; n
they hold the *jus divinum* of epifco
therefore this may be intended as one
ſtep towards altering the conſtitution
church eſtabliſhed, and ſetting up *pre*
in the ſtead, which I leave to be furthe
ſidered by thoſe at the helm.

In the laſt place, I think nothing c
more plain, than that, by this expedier
ſhall run into the evil we chiefly prete
avoid: and that the aboliſhment of th
ſtian religion will be the readieſt cou
can take to introduce popery. And I
more inclined to this opinion, becau
know it hath been the conſtant practice
jeſuits to ſend over emiſſaries with inſtru
to perſonate themſelves members of t
veral prevailing ſects among us. So it
corded, that they have at ſundry tim
peared in the guiſe of *preſbyterians*, *a*
tiſts, *independents*, and *quakers*, accordi
any of theſe were moſt in credit; ſo, la
faſhion hath been taken up of explodi
ligion, the *popiſh* miſſionaries have nc
wanting to mix with the free-thinkers;
whom *Toland*, the great oracle of the
chriſtians, is an *Iriſh* prieſt, the ſon of a
prieſt; and the moſt learned and ing
author of a book called the *rights of th*
ſtian church was in a proper juncture
ciled to the *Romiſh* faith, whoſe true ſ
appears by a hundred paſſages in his t
he ſtill continues. Perhaps I could ad
others to the number; but the fact is t

d

diſpute, and the reaſoning they proceed by is right: for, ſuppoſing chriſtianity to be extinguiſhed, the people will never be at eaſe till they find out ſome other method of worſhip; which will as infallibly produce ſuperſtition, as ſuperſtition will end in *popery*.

And therefore, if, notwithſtanding all I have ſaid, it ſtill be thought neceſſary to have a bill brought in for repealing chriſtianity, I would humbly offer an amendment, that inſtead of the word chriſtianity may be put religion in general, which I conceive will much better anſwer all the good ends propoſed by the projectors of it. For as long as we leave in being a God and his providence, with all the neceſſary conſequences, which curious and inquiſitive men will be apt to draw from ſuch premiſſes, we do not ſtrike at the root of the evil, though we ſhould ever ſo effectually annihilate the preſent ſcheme of the goſpel: for, of what uſe is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action, which is the ſole end, how remote ſoever in appearance, of all objections againſt chriſtianity; and therefore the free-thinkers conſider it as a ſort of edifice, wherein all the parts have ſuch a mutual dependence on each other, that, if you happen to pull out one ſingle nail, the whole fabric muſt fall to the ground. This was happily expreſſed by him, who had heard of a text brought for proof of the trinity, which in an antient manuſcript was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the

hint,

hint, and by a ſudden deduction of a long * *ſorites* moſt logically concluded: why, if it be as you ſay, I may ſafely whore and drink on, and defy the parſon. From which, and many the like inſtances eaſy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifeſt, than that the quarrel is not againſt any particular points of hard digeſtion in the chriſtian ſyſtem, but againſt religion in general, which, laying reſtraint on human nature, is ſuppoſed the great enemy to the freedom of thought and action.

Upon the whole, if it ſhall ſtill be thought for the benefit of the church and ſtate, that chriſtianity be aboliſhed, I conceive however it may be more convenient to defer the execution to a time of peace, and not venture in this conjuncture to diſoblige our allies, who, as it falls out, are all chriſtians, and many of them, by the prejudices of their education, ſo bigotted, as to place a ſort of pride in the appellation. If, upon being rejected by them, we are to truſt to an alliance with the *Turk*, we ſhall find ourſelves much deceived: for, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in war with the *Perſian* emperor, ſo his people would be more ſcandaliſed at our infidelity, than our chriſtian neighbours. For the *Turks* are not only ſtrict obſervers of religious worſhip, but, what is worſe, believe a God; which

* A *ſorites* differs from a ſyllogiſm, in that it takes only the minor propoſition. An example of this figure may be ſeen in *John Bull*, Vol. VI. p. 137.

which is more than is required of us, even while we preſerve the name of chriſtians.

To conclude: whatever ſome may think of the great advantages to trade by this favourite ſcheme, I do very much apprehend, that, in ſix months time after the act is paſt for the extirpation of the goſpel, the *Bank* and *Eaſt-India* ſtock may fall at leaſt one *per cent.* And, ſince that is fifty times more than ever the wiſdom of our age thought fit to venture for the preſervation of chriſtianity, there is no reaſon we ſhould be at ſo great a loſs, merely for the ſake of deſtroying it.

A PRO-

A PROJEC

FOR THE

ADVANCEMENT OF RELIG

AND THE

REFORMATION of MANN

By a PERSON of QUALITY

Written in the Year 1709.

To the Counteſs of BERKLE

MADAM,

MY intention in prefixing your lad name is not, after the commor to deſire your protection of the followi pers; which I take to be a very unrea requeſt; ſince by being inſcribed to you ſhip, though without your knowledg from a concealed hand, you cannot mend them without ſuſpicion of par My real deſign is, I confeſs, the ver

* This excellent lady was *Eliſabeth*, the ter of *Baptiſt Noel*, viſcount *Campden*, and *Edward* earl of *Gainſborough*.

I have often deteſted in moſt dedications; that of publiſhing your praiſes to the world; not upon the ſubject of your noble birth, for I know others as noble; or of the greatneſs of your fortune, for I know others far greater; or of that beautiful race (the images of their parents) which calls you mother; for even this may perhaps have been equalled in ſome other age or country. Beſides, none of theſe advantages do derive any accompliſhments to the owners, but ſerve at beſt only to adorn what they really poſſeſs. What I intend, is your piety, truth, good ſenſe, and good-nature, affability, and charity; wherein I wiſh your ladyſhip had many equals, or any ſuperiors; and I wiſh I could ſay, I knew them too, for then your ladyſhip might have had a chance to eſcape this addreſs. In the mean time, I think it highly neceſſary, for the intereſt of virtue and religion, that the whole kingdom ſhould be informed in ſome parts of your character: for inſtance, that the eaſieſt and politeſt converſation, joined with the trueſt piety, may be obſerved in your ladyſhip, in as great perfection as they were ever ſeen apart in any other perſons. That, by your prudence and management under ſeveral diſadvantages, you have preſerved the luſtre of that moſt noble family, into which you are grafted, and which the unmeaſurable profuſion of anceſtors for many generations had too much eclipſed. Then, how happily you perform every office of life, to which providence hath called you: in the education of

thoſe two incomparable daughters, whoſe conduct is ſo univerſally admired; in every duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate wife; in that care which deſcends to the meaneſt of your domeſtics; and laſtly, in that endleſs bounty to the poor, and diſcretion where to diſtribute it. I inſiſt on my opinion, that it is of importance for the public to know this and a great deal more of your ladyſhip; yet whoever goes about to inform them, ſhall, inſtead of finding credit, perhaps be cenſured for a flatterer. To avoid ſo uſual a reproach, I declare this to be no dedication, but merely an introduction to a propoſal for the advancement of religion and morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, ſome few lineaments in the character of a lady, who hath ſpent all her life in the practice and promotion of both.

AMONG all the ſchemes offered to the public in this projecting age, I have obſerved, with ſome diſpleaſure, that there have never been any for the improvement of religion and morals: which, beſides the piety of the deſign from the conſequence of ſuch a reformation in a future life, would be the beſt natural means for advancing the public felicity of the ſtate, as well as the preſent happineſs of every individual. For, as much faith and morality are declined among us, I am altogether confident, they might in a ſhort time, and with no very great trouble, be raiſed to as high a perfection as numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed, the metho-

ſo eaſy and obvious, and ſome preſent opportunities ſo good, that, in order to have this project reduced to practice, there ſeems to want nothing more than to put thoſe in mind, who by their honour, duty, and intereſt, are chiefly concerned.

But becauſe it is idle to propoſe remedies, before we are aſſured of the diſeaſe, or to be in fear till we are convinced of the danger; I ſhall firſt ſhew in general, that the nation is extremely corrupted in religion and morals; and then I will offer a ſhort ſcheme for the reformation of both.

As to the firſt, I know it is reckoned but a form of ſpeech, when divines complain of the wickedneſs of the age; however, I believe, upon a fair compariſon with other times and countries, it would be found an undoubted truth.

For firſt, to deliver nothing but plain matter of fact without exaggeration or ſatire, I ſuppoſe it will be granted, that hardly one in an hundred among our people of quality or gentry appears to act by any principle of religion; that great numbers of them do intirely diſcard it, and are ready to own their diſbeliefs of all revelation in ordinary diſcourſe. Nor is the caſe much better among the vulgar, eſpecially in great towns, where the profaneneſs and ignorance of handicraſtſmen, ſmall traders, ſervants, and the like, are to a degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then it is obſerved abroad, that no race of mortals hath ſo little ſenſe of religion as the

Engliſh ſoldiers; to confirm which, I have been often told by great officers of the army, that, in the whole compaſs of their acquaintance, they could not recollect three of their profeſſion, who ſeemed to regard or believe one ſyllable of the goſpel: and the ſame at leaſt may be affirmed of the fleet. The conſequences of all which upon the actions of men are equally manifeſt. They never go about, as in former times, to hide or palliate their vices, but expoſe them freely to view, like any other common occurrences of life, without the leaſt reproach from the world or themſelves. For inſtance, any man will tell you he intends to be drunk this evening, or was ſo laſt night, with as little ceremony or ſcruple, as he would tell you the time of the day. He will let you know he is going to a wench, or that he has got a clap, with as much indifferency, as he would a piece of public news. He will ſwear, curſe, or blaſpheme, without the leaſt paſſion or provocation. And, though all regard for reputation is not quite laid aſide in the other ſex, it is however at ſo low an ebb, that very few among them ſeem to think virtue and conduct of any neceſſity for preſerving it. If this be not ſo, how comes it to paſs, that women of tainted reputations find the ſame countenance and reception in public places with thoſe of the niceſt virtue, who pay and receive viſits from them without any manner of ſcruple; which proceeding, as it is not very old among us, ſo I take it to be of the moſt pernicious conſequence:

ſequence: it looks like a ſort of compounding between virtue and vice, as if a woman were allowed to be vicious, provided ſhe be not a profligate; as if there were a certain point, where gallantry ends, and infamy begins; or that an hundred criminal amours were not as pardonable as half a ſcore.

Beſides thoſe corruptions already mentioned, it would be endleſs to enumerate ſuch as ariſe from the exceſs of play or gaming: the cheats, the quarrels, the oaths, and blaſphemies, among the men; among the women, the neglect of houſhold affairs, the unlimited freedoms, the undecent paſſion, and, laſtly, the known inlet to all lewdneſs, when after an ill run the *perſon* muſt anſwer the defects of the *purſe*: the rule on ſuch occaſions holding true in play, as it does in law; *quod non habet in crumena, luat in corpore.*

But all theſe are trifles in compariſon, if we ſtep into other ſcenes, and conſider the fraud and cozenage of trading men and ſhop-keepers; that inſatiable gulph of injuſtice and oppreſſion, the law; the open traffic for all civil and military employments (I wiſh it reſteſt there *) without the leaſt regard to merit or qualifications; the corrupt management of men in office; the many deteſtable abuſes in chuſing thoſe, who repreſent the people; with the management of intereſts and factions among the repreſentatives: to which I muſt

* Perhaps the author intended to intimate that it extended to eccleſiaſtical.

be bold to add the ignorance of ſome of the lower clergy; the mean ſervile temper of others; the pert pragmatical demeanor of ſeveral young ſtagers in divinity, upon their firſt producing themſelves into the world; with many other circumſtances needleſs, or rather invidious to mention; which, falling in with the corruptions already related, have, however unjuſtly, almoſt rendered the whole order contemptible.

This is a ſhort view of the general depravity among us, without entering into particulars, which would be an endleſs labour. Now, as univerſal and deep-rooted as theſe appear to be, I am utterly deceived, if an effectual remedy might not be applied to moſt of them; neither am I at preſent upon a wild ſpeculative project, but ſuch a one as may be eaſily put in execution.

For, while the prerogative of giving all employments continues in the crown, either immediately, or by ſubordination, it is in the power of the *prince* to make piety and virtue become the faſhion of the age, if at the ſame time he would make them neceſſary qualifications for favour and preferment.

It is clear from preſent experience, that the bare example of the beſt prince will not have any mighty influence, where the age is very corrupt. For, when was there ever a better prince on the throne than the preſent queen? I do not talk of her talent for government, her love of the people, or any other qualities that are purely regal; but her piety, charity, temperance,

perance, conjugal love, and whatever other virtues do beſt adorn a private life; wherein, without queſtion or flattery, ſhe hath no ſuperior; yet neither will it be ſatire or peeviſh invective to affirm, that infidelity and vice are not much diminiſhed ſince her coming to the crown, nor will, in probability, till more effectual remedies be provided.

Thus human nature ſeems to lie under the diſadvantage, that the example alone of a vicious prince will in time corrupt an age; but the example of a good one will not be ſufficient to reform it without further endeavours. Princes muſt therefore ſupply this defect by a vigorous exerciſe of that authority, which the law has left them, by making it every man's intereſt and honour to cultivate religion and virtue, by rendering vice a diſgrace, and the certain ruin to preferment or pretenſions; all which they ſhould firſt attempt in their own courts and families. For inſtance, might not the queen's domeſtics of the middle and lower ſort be obliged, upon penalty of ſuſpenſion or loſs of their employments, to a conſtant weekly attendance on the ſervice of the church; to a decent behaviour in it; to receive the ſacrament four times a year; to avoid ſwearing and irreligious prophane diſcourſes; and to the appearance at leaſt of temperance and chaſtity? might not the care of all this be committed to the ſtrict inſpection of proper officers? might not thoſe of higher rank and nearer acceſs to her majeſty receive her own commands to the ſame purpoſe, and be coun-

tenanced

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
and give her notice, [illegible]
should happen to be of [illegible]
morals? might not all those, who
any office in her majesty's family,
to take an oath parallel with that
mony, which is administered to t
it is not to be doubted, but that,
the like proceedings were duly obs
rality and religion would soon beco
able court virtues, and be taken u
ly methods to get or keep employm
which alone would have mighty in
on many of the nobility and pri
try.

But, if the like methods were
far as possible with regard to tho
in the great employments of stat
to conceive how general a refor
might in time produce among us.
ty and virtue were once reckone
tions necessary to preferment, eve
endowed, when put into great stat
readily imitate the queen's exampl
tribution of all offices in his disp
cially if any apparent transgressi
favour or partiality would be impu
for a misdemeanor, by which he m
ly forfeit his favour and station:
being such great numbers in e
scattered through every town and

this kingdom, if all these were exemplary in the conduct of their lives, things would soon take a new face, and religion receive a mighty encouragement: nor would the public weal be less advanced; since, of nine offices in ten that are ill executed, the defect is not in capacity or understanding, but in common honesty. I know no employment, for which piety disqualifies any man; and, if it did, I doubt the objection would not be very seasonably offered at present: because it is perhaps too just a reflection, that, in the disposal of places, the question, whether a person be *fit* for what he is recommended to, is generally the last that is thought on or regarded.

I have often imagined, that something parallel to the office of censors anciently in *Rome* would be of mighty use among us, and could be easily limited from running into any exorbitances. The *Romans* understood liberty at least as well as we, were as jealous of it, and upon every occasion as bold assertors. Yet I do not remember to have read any great complaints of the abuses in that office among them; but many admirable effects of it are left upon record. There are several pernicious vices frequent and notorious among us, that escape or elude the punishment of any law we have yet invented, or have had no law at all against them; such as atheism, drunkenness, fraud, avarice, and several others; which by this institution, wisely regulated, might be much reformed. Suppose, for instance, that itinerary commissioners were appointed

pointed to inſpect every-where throughout the kingdom into the conduct (at leaſt) of men in office with reſpect to their morals and religion, as well as their abilities; to receive the complaints and informations, that ſhould be offered againſt them, and make their report here upon oath to the court or the miniſtry, who ſhould reward or puniſh accordingly. I avoid entering into the particulars of this or any other ſcheme, which coming from a private hand might be liable to many defects, but would ſoon be digeſted by the wiſdom of the nation: and ſurely ſix thouſand pounds a year would not be ill laid out among as many commiſſioners duly qualified, who in three diviſions ſhould be perſonally obliged to take their yearly circuits for that purpoſe.

But this is beſide my preſent deſign, which was only to ſhew what degree of reformation is in the power of the Queen, without the interpoſition of the legiſlature, and which her majeſty is, without queſtion, obliged in conſcience to endeavour by her authority, as much as ſhe doth by her practice.

It will be eaſily granted, that the example of this great town hath a mighty influence over the whole kingdom; and it is as manifeſt, that the town is equally influenced by the court, and the miniſtry, and thoſe who by their employments, or their hopes, depend upon them. Now, if under ſo excellent princeſs, as the preſent queen, we would ſuppoſe a family ſtrictly regulated, as I have

bove propoſed; a miniſtry, where every ſingle perſon was of diſtinguiſhed piety; if we ſhould ſuppoſe all great offices of ſtate and law filled after the ſame manner, and with ſuch as were equally diligent in chuſing perſons, who in their ſeveral ſubordinations would be obliged to follow the examples of their ſuperiors, under the penalty of loſs of favour and place; will not every body grant, that the empire of vice and irreligion would be ſoon deſtroyed in this great metropolis, and receive a terrible blow through the whole iſland, which hath ſo great an intercourſe with it, and ſo much affects to follow its faſhions?

For, if religion were once underſtood to be the neceſſary ſtep to favour and preferment, can it be imagined that any man would openly offend againſt it, who had the leaſt regard for his reputation or his fortune? there is no quality ſo contrary to any nature, which men cannot effect, and put on upon occaſion, in order to ſerve an intereſt, or gratify a prevailing paſſion. The proudeſt man will perſonate humility, the moroſeſt learn to flatter, the lazieſt will be ſedulous and active, where he is in purſuit of what he hath much at heart: how ready therefore would moſt men be to ſtep into the paths of virtue and piety, if they infallibly led to favour and fortune!

If ſwearing and prophaneneſs, ſcandalous and avowed lewdneſs, exceſſive gaming and intemperance, were a little diſcountenanced in the army, I cannot readily ſee what ill conſequences could be apprehended. If gentlemen

hat profeſſion were at leaſt obliged to ſon
ernal decorum in their conduct, or even
roſligate life and character were not a mea
advancement, and the appearance of pie
moſt infallible hindrance, it is impoſſib
he corruptions there ſhould be ſo univer
and exorbitant. I have been aſſured by ſev
ral great officers, that no troops abroad a
ſo ill diſciplined as the *Engliſh*; which cann
well be otherwiſe, while the common ſoldi
have perpetually before their eyes the vicio
example of their leaders; and it is hard
poſſible for thoſe to commit any crime, whe
of theſe are not infinitely more guilty, a
with leſs temptation.

It is commonly charged upon the gentl
men of the army, that the beaſtly vice
drinking to exceſs hath been lately from th
example reſtored among us; which for ſo
years before was almoſt dropt in *Engla*
But, whoever the introducers were, they l
ſucceeded to a miracle; many of the yo
nobility and gentry are already become
proficients, and are under no manner of
cern to hide their talent, but are got b
all ſenſe of ſhame, or fear of reproach.

This might ſoon be remedied, if the
would think fit to declare, that no you
ſon of quality whatſoever, who was
ouſly addicted to that or any other vice
be capable of her favour, or even
into her preſence; with poſitive con
her miniſters, and others in great
treat them in the ſame manner; aſ

all men who had any regard for their reputation, or any proſpect of preferment, would avoid their commerce. This would quickly make that vice ſo ſcandalous, that thoſe who could not ſubdue, would at leaſt endeavour to diſguiſe it.

By the like methods a ſtop might be put to that ruinous practice of deep gaming; and the reaſon why it prevails ſo much is, becauſe a treatment *directly oppoſite* in every point is made uſe of to promote it; by which means the laws enacted againſt this abuſe are wholly eluded.

It cannot be denied, that the want of ſtrict diſcipline in the univerſities hath been of pernicious conſequence to the youth of this nation, who are there almoſt left intirely to their own management, eſpecially thoſe among them of better quality and fortune; who, becauſe they are not under a neceſſity of making learning their maintenance, are eaſily allowed to paſs their time and take their degrees with little or no improvement: than which there cannot well be a greater abſurdity. For, if no advancement of knowledge can be had from thoſe places, the time there ſpent is at beſt utterly loſt, becauſe every ornamental part of education is better taught elſewhere: and, as for keeping youths out of harm's way, I doubt, where ſo many of them are got together, at full liberty of doing what they pleaſe, it will not anſwer the end. But, whatever abuſes, corruptions, or deviations from ſtatutes have crept into the univerſities

through neglect, or length of time, they might in a great degree be reformed by ſtrict injunctions from court (upon each particular) to the viſitors and heads of houſes; beſides the peculiar authority the queen may have in ſeveral colleges, whereof her predeceſſors were the founders. And, among other regulations, it would be very convenient to prevent the exceſs of drinking, with that ſcurvy cuſtom among the lads, and parent of the former vice, the taking of tobacco, where it is not abſolutely neceſſary in point of health.

From the univerſities the young nobility, and others of great fortunes, are ſent for early up to town, for fear of contracting any airs of pedantry by a college education. Many of the younger gentry retire to the inns of court, where they are wholly left to their own diſcretion. And the conſequence of this remiſneſs in education appears by obſerving, that nine in ten of thoſe, who riſe in the church or the court, the law or the army, are younger brothers, or new men, whoſe narrow fortunes have forced them upon induſtry and application.

As for the inns of court, unleſs we ſuppoſe them to be much degenerated, they muſt needs be the worſt inſtituted ſeminaries in any chriſtian country; but, whether they may be corrected without interpoſition of the legiſlature, I have not ſkill enough to determine. However, it is certain, that all wiſe nations have agreed in the neceſſity of a ſtrict education, which conſiſted, among other things, in the

obſervance of moral duties, eſpecially juſtice, temperance, and chaſtity, as well as the knowledge of arts, and bodily exerciſes: but all theſe among us are laughed out of doors.

Without the leaſt intention to offend the clergy, I cannot but think, that, through a miſtaken notion and practice, they prevent themſelves from doing much ſervice, which otherwiſe might lie in their power, to religion and virtue: I mean, by affecting ſo much to converſe with each other, and caring ſo little to mingle with the laity. They have their particular clubs, and particular coffee-houſes, where they generally appear in cluſters: a ſingle divine dares hardly ſhew his perſon among numbers of fine gentlemen; or, if he happens to fall into ſuch company, he is ſilent and ſuſpicious, in continual apprehenſion that ſome pert man of pleaſure ſhould break an unmannerly jeſt, and render him ridiculous. Now I take this behaviour of the clergy to be juſt as reaſonable, as if the phyſicians ſhould agree to ſpend their time in viſiting one another, or their ſeveral apothecaries, and leave their patients to ſhift for themſelves. In my humble opinion, the clergy's buſineſs lies intirely among the laity; neither is there, perhaps, a more effectual way to forward the ſalvation of mens ſouls, than for ſpiritual perſons to make themſelves as agreeable as they can in the converſations of the world; for which a learned education gives them great advantage, if they would pleaſe to improve and apply it. It ſo happens, that the

men of pleaſure, who never go to church, r
uſe themſelves to read books of devotic
form their ideas of the clergy from a few pc
ſtrolers they often obſerve in the ſtreets,
ſneaking out of ſome perſon of quality's hou
where they are hired by the lady at ten ſh
lings a month: while thoſe of better figu
and parts do ſeldom appear to correct th
notions. And, let ſome reaſoners think wl
they pleaſe, it is certain that men muſt
brought to eſteem and love the clergy, bef
they can be perſuaded to be in love with re
gion. No man values the medicine, if
miniſtered by a phyſician, whoſe perſon
hates or deſpiſes. If the clergy were as f
ward to appear in all companies, as other ge
tlemen, and would a little ſtudy the arts
converſation to make themſelves agreeab
they might be welcome to every party, wh
there was the leaſt regard to politeneſs or go
ſenſe; and conſequently prevent a thouſa
vicious or prophane diſcourſes, as well as
tions; neither would men of underſtandi
complain, that a clergyman was a conſtra
upon the company, becauſe they could r
ſpeak blaſphemy or obſcene jeſts before hi
While the people are ſo jealous of the clerg
ambition, as to abhor all thoughts of the
turn of eccleſiaſtic diſcipline among them,
do not ſee any other method left for men
that function to take, in order to reform t
world, than by uſing all honeſt arts to ma
themſelves acceptable to the laity. This,
doubt, is part of that wiſdom of the ſerpe

which the author of chriſtianity directs, and is the very method uſed by St. *Paul*, who *became all things to all men, to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.*

How to remedy theſe inconveniencies may be a matter of ſome difficulty: ſince the clergy ſeem to be of an opinion, that this humour of ſequeſtring themſelves is a part of their duty; nay, as I remember they have been told ſo by ſome of their biſhops in their paſtoral letters, particularly by * *one* among them of great merit and diſtinction, who yet, in his own practice, hath all his life-time taken a courſe directly contrary. But I am deceived, if an aukward ſhame, and fear of ill uſage from the laity, have not a greater ſhare in this miſtaken conduct, than their own inclinations: however, if the outward profeſſion of religion and virtue were once in practice and countenance at court, as well as among all men in office, or who have any hopes or dependance for preferment, a good treatment of the clergy would be the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a reformation; and they would ſoon be wiſe enough to ſee their own duty and intereſt in qualifying themſelves for lay converſation, when once they were out of fear of being choaked by ribaldry or prophaneneſs.

There is one further circumſtance upon this occaſion, which I know not whether it will be orthodox to mention: the clergy are the only ſett of men among us, who conſtantly wear a

* *Suppoſed* to be Dr. Burnet biſhop of Saliſbury.

diſtinct habit from others: the conſequence of which (not in reaſon but in fact) is this, that, as long as any ſcandalous perſons appear in that dreſs, it will continue in ſome degree a general mark of contempt. Whoever happens to ſee a *ſcoundrel in a gown*, reeling home at midnight (a ſight neither *frequent* nor *miraculous*) is apt to entertain an ill idea of the whole order, and at the ſame time to be extremely comforted in his own vices. Some remedy might be put to this, if thoſe ſtraggling gentlemen, who come up to town to *ſeek their fortunes*, were fairly diſmiſſed to the *Weſt-Indies*, where there is work enough, and where ſome better proviſion ſhould be made for them, than I doubt there is at preſent. Or, what if no perſon were allowed to wear the habit, who had not ſome preferment in the church, or at leaſt ſome temporal fortune ſufficient to keep him out of contempt? though, in my opinion, it were infinitely better, if all the clergy (except the biſhops) were permitted to appear like other men of the graver ſort, unleſs at thoſe ſeaſons when they are doing the buſineſs of their function.

There is one abuſe in this town, which wonderfully contributes to the promotion of vice; that ſuch men are often put into the commiſſion of the peace, whoſe intereſt it is, that virtue ſhould be utterly baniſhed from among us; who maintain, or at leaſt enrich themſelves by encouraging the groſſeſt immoralities; to whom all the *bawds* of the *ward pay* contribution for ſhelter and protection

from

from the laws. Thus theſe worthy magiſtrates, inſtead of leſſening enormities, are the occaſion of juſt twice as much debauchery as there would be without them. For thoſe infamous women are forced upon doubling their work and induſtry, to anſwer double charges, of paying the juſtice, and ſupporting themſelves. Like thieves who eſcape the gallows, and are let out to ſteal in order to diſcharge the gaoler's fees.

It is not to be queſtioned, but the queen and miniſtry might eaſily redreſs this abominable grievance, by enlarging the number of juſtices of the peace, by endeavouring to chuſe men of virtuous principles, by admitting none who have not conſiderable fortunes; perhaps, by receiving into the number ſome of the moſt eminent clergy: then, by forcing all of them, upon ſevere penalties, to act when there is occaſion, and not permitting any, who are offered, to refuſe the commiſſion; but in theſe two laſt caſes, which are very material, I doubt there will be need of the legiſlature.

The reformation of the ſtage is intirely in the power of the queen; and, in the conſequences it hath upon the minds of younger people, doth very well deſerve the ſtricteſt care. Beſides the unchaſt and prophane paſſages; beſides the perpetual turning into ridicule the very function of the prieſthood, with other irregularities, in the moſt modern comedies, which have been often objected to them; it is worth obſerving the diſtributive juſtice of the authors, which is conſtantly applied

plied to the puniſhment of virtue, and
ward of vice; directly oppoſite to the r
their beſt critics, as well as to the prac
dramatic poets in all other ages and cou
For example, a country 'ſquire, who
preſented with no other vice but that of
a clown, and having the provincial acce
on his tongue, which is neither a faul
in his power to remedy, muſt be condem
marry a caſt wench, or a cracked cha
maid. On the other ſide, a rake-hell
town, whoſe character is ſet off with n
accompliſhment but exceſſive prodigalit
phaneneſs, intemperance, and luſt,
warded with a lady of great fortune to
his own, which his vices had almoſt r
And, as in a tragedy the hero is repre
to have obtained many victories, in or
raiſe his character in the minds of the
tors; ſo the hero of a comedy is repre
to have been victorious in all his intrigu
the ſame reaſon. I do not remembe
our *Engliſh* poets ever ſuffered a crimi
mour to ſucceed upon the ſtage, till the
of king *Charles* the ſecond. Ever ſin
time, the alderman is made a cuckol
deluded virgin is debauched, and ad
and fornication are ſuppoſed to be com
behind the ſcenes, as part of the action.
and many more corruptions of the t
peculiar to our age and nation, need co
no longer, than while the court is con
connive at or neglect them. Surely a p
would not be ill employed on ſome r

wit, learning, and virtue, who might have power to ſtrike out every offenſive or unbecoming paſſage from plays already written, as well as thoſe that may be offered to the ſtage for the future. By which and other wiſe regulations, the theatre might become a very innocent and uſeful diverſion, inſtead of being a ſcandal and reproach to our religion and country.

The propoſals I have hitherto made for the advancement of religion and morality, are ſuch as come within the reach of the adminiſtration; ſuch as a pious active prince, with a ſteddy reſolution, might ſoon bring to effect. Neither am I aware of any objections to be raiſed againſt what I have advanced; unleſs it ſhould be thought, that the making religion a neceſſary ſtep to intereſt and favour might increaſe hypocriſy among us: and I readily believe it would. But if one in twenty ſhould be brought over to true piety by this or the like methods, and the other nineteen be only hypocrites, the advantage would ſtill be great. Beſides, hypocriſy is much more eligible than open infidelity and vice; it wears the livery of religion; it acknowledges her authority, and is cautious of giving ſcandal. Nay, a long continued diſguiſe is too great a conſtraint upon human nature, eſpecially an *Engliſh* diſpoſition: men would leave off their vices out of mere wearineſs, rather than undergo the toil and hazard, and perhaps the expence, of practiſing them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with reli-

gion as it is with love; which, by much
ſembling, at laſt grows real.

All other projects to this great end h
proved ineffectual. Laws againſt immora
have not been executed, and proclamati
occaſionally iſſued out to inforce them
wholly unregarded, as things of form. I
ligious ſocieties, though begun with excell
intention, and by perſons of true piety,
ſaid, I know not whether truly or no, to h
dwindled into factious clubs, and grow
trade to inrich little knaviſh informers of
meaneſt rank, ſuch as common conſtab
and broken ſhopkeepers.

And that ſome effectual attempt ſhould
made towards ſuch a reformation, is perh
more neceſſary than people commonly app
hend; becauſe the ruin of a ſtate is gener
preceded by an univerſal degeneracy of m
ners, and contempt of religion; which is
tirely our caſe at preſent.

Diis te minorem quod geris, imperas. H

Neither is this a matter to be deferred
a more convenient time of peace and leiſu
a reformation in mens faith and morals is
beſt natural, as well as religious means
bring the war to a good concluſion. Becau
if men in truſt performed their duty for c
ſcience ſake, affairs would not ſuffer throu
fraud, falſhood, and neglect, as they n
perpetually do. And if they believed a G
and his providence, and acted according
t

they might reaſonably hope for his divine aſſiſtance in ſo juſt a cauſe as ours.

Nor could the majeſty of the *Engliſh* crown appear, upon any occaſion, in a greater luſtre either to foreigners or ſubjects, than by an adminiſtration, which, producing ſuch great effects, would diſcover ſo much power. And, power being the natural appetite of princes, a limited monarch cannot ſo well gratify it in any thing, as a ſtrict execution of the laws.

Beſides; all parties would be obliged to cloſe with ſo good a work as this, for their own reputation: neither is any expedient more likely to unite them. For the moſt violent party-men, I have ever obſerved, are ſuch, as in the conduct of their lives have diſcovered leaſt ſenſe of religion or morality; and when all ſuch are laid aſide, at leaſt thoſe among them as ſhall be found incorrigible, it will be a matter perhaps of no great difficulty to reconcile the reſt.

The many corruptions at preſent in every branch of buſineſs are almoſt inconceivable. I have heard it computed by ſkilful perſons, that, of ſix millions raiſed every year for the ſervice of the public, one third, at leaſt, is ſunk and intercepted through the ſeveral claſſes and ſubordinations of artful men in office, before the remainder is applied to the proper uſe. This is an accidental ill effect of our freedom. And while ſuch men are in truſt, who have no check from within, nor any views but towards their intereſt, there is no other fence againſt them, but the certainty of

eing hanged upon the firſt diſcovery, by the arbitrary will of an unlimited monarch, or his *vizier*. Among us the only danger to be apprehended is the loſs of an employment; and that danger is to be eluded a thouſand ways. Beſides, when fraud is great, it furniſhes weapons to defend itſelf: and at worſt, if the crimes be ſo flagrant, that a man is laid aſide out of perfect ſhame, (which rarely happens) he retires loaded with the ſpoils of the nation: *et fruitur diis iratis*. I could name a commiſſion, where ſeveral perſons, out of a ſalary of five hundred pounds, without other viſible revenues, have always lived at the rate of two thouſand, and laid out forty or fifty thouſand upon purchaſes of lands or annuities. An hundred other inſtances of the ſame kind might eaſily be produced. What remedy therefore can be found againſt ſuch grievances in a conſtitution like ours, but to bring religion into countenance, and encourage thoſe, who from the hope of future reward, and dread of future puniſhment, will be moved to act with juſtice and integrity?

This is not to be accompliſhed any other way, than by introducing religion as much as poſſible to be the turn and faſhion of the age; which lies in the power of the adminiſtration the prince with utmoſt ſtrictneſs regulating the court, the miniſtry, and other perſons in great employment; and theſe by their example and authority reforming all who have dependance on them.

It is certain, that a reformation ſucceſſfully carried on in this great town would in time ſpread itſelf over the whole kingdom; ſince moſt of the conſiderable youth paſs here that ſeaſon of their lives, wherein the ſtrongeſt impreſſions are made, in order to improve their education, or advance their fortune; and thoſe among them, who return into their ſeveral countries, are ſure to be followed and imitated as the greateſt patterns of wit and good breeding.

And if things were once in this train, that is, if virtue and religion were eſtabliſhed as the neceſſary titles to reputation and preferment; and if vice and infidelity were not only loaden with infamy, but made the infallible ruin of all mens pretenſions; our duty, by becoming our intereſt, would take root in our natures, and mix with the very genius of our people; ſo that it would not be eaſy for the example of one wicked prince to bring us back to our former corruptions.

I have confined myſelf (as it is before obſerved) to thoſe methods for the advancement of piety, which are in the power of a prince, limited like ours, by a ſtrict execution of the laws already in force. And this is enough for a project, that comes without any name or recommendation; I doubt, a great deal more, than will be ſuddenly reduced into practice. Though, if any diſpoſition ſhould appear towards ſo good a work, it is certain, that the aſſiſtance of the legiſlative power would be neceſſary to make it more

com-

complete. I will inſtance only a few particulars.

In order to reform the vices of this town, which, as we have ſaid, hath ſo mighty an influence on the whole kingdom, it would be very inſtrumental to have a law made, that all taverns and alehouſes ſhould be obliged to diſmiſs their company by twelve at night, and ſhut their doors; and that no woman ſhould be ſuffered to enter any tavern or alehouſe upon any pretence whatſoever. It is eaſy to conceive, what a number of ill conſequences ſuch a law would prevent; the miſchiefs of quarrels, and lewdneſs, and theſts, and midnight brawls, the diſeaſes of intemperance and venery, and a thouſand other evils needleſs to mention. Nor would it be amiſs, if the maſters of thoſe public-houſes were obliged, upon the ſevereſt penalties, to give only a proportioned quantity of drink to every company, and, when he found his gueſts diſordered with exceſs, to refuſe them any more.

I believe there is hardly a nation in *Chriſtendom*, where all kind of fraud is practiſed in ſo unmeaſurable a degree as with us. The lawyer, the tradeſman, the mechanic, have found ſo many arts to deceive in their ſeveral callings, that they far outgrow the common prudence of mankind, which is in no ſort able to fence againſt them. Neither could the legiſlature in any thing more conſult the public good, than by providing ſome effectual remedy againſt this evil, which in ſeveral caſes

deſerves

deſerves greater puniſhment, than many crimes that are capital among us. The vintner, who by mixing poiſon with his wines deſtroys more lives than any malignant diſeaſe; the lawyer, who perſuades you to a purchaſe, which he knows is mortgaged for more than the worth, to the ruin of you and your family; the banker or ſcrivener, who takes all your fortune to diſpoſe of, when he has before-hand reſolved to break the following day, do ſurely deſerve the gallows much better than the wretch, who is carried there for ſtealing a horſe.

It cannot eaſily be anſwered to God or man, why a law is not made for limiting the preſs; at leaſt ſo far as to prevent the publiſhing of ſuch pernicious books, as under pretence of *free-thinking* endeavour to overthrow thoſe tenets in religion, which have been held inviolable almoſt in all ages by every ſect, that pretend to be chriſtian, and cannot therefore with any colour of reaſon be called *points in controverſy*, or *matters of ſpeculation*, as ſome would pretend. The doctrine of the *trinity*, and *divinity of Chriſt*, the *immortality of the ſoul*, and even the truth of all *revelation*, are daily exploded and denied in books openly printed; though it is to be ſuppoſed, neither party * avow ſuch principles, or own the ſupporting of them to be any way neceſſary to their ſervice.

It

* Neither whig nor tory.

It would be endleſs to ſet down every c
ruption or defect, which requires a rem
from the legiſlative power. Senates are
to have little regard for any propoſals,
come from without doors; though, und
due ſenſe of my own inabilities, I am fully c
vinced that the unbiaſſed thoughts of an
neſt and wiſe man, employed on the gooc
his country, may be better digeſted, than
reſults of a multitude, where faction and
tereſt too often prevail; as a ſingle g
may direct the way better than five hund
who *have contrary views*, or *look aſquint*,
ſhut their eyes.

I ſhall therefore mention but one more
ticular, which I think the parliament ou
to take under conſideration; whether it
not a ſhame to our country, and a ſcanda
chriſtianity, that in many towns, where t
is a prodigious increaſe in the number
houſes and inhabitants, ſo little care ſhc
be taken for the building of churches,
five parts in ſix of the people are abſolu
hindered from hearing divine ſervice? pa
cularly here in *London* *, where a ſingle
niſter, with one or two ſorry curates, hath
care ſometimes of above twenty thouſ
ſouls incumbent on him. A neglect of
gion ſo ignominious, in my opinion, tha

* This paragraph is known to have given the
hint to certain biſhops, particularly to biſhop *A*
bury, in the earl of *Oxford*'s miniſtry to procu
fund for building 50 new churches in *London*.

dly be equalled in any civiliſed age or

to leave theſe airy imaginations of in-
ng new laws for the amendment of
id; what I principally inſiſt on, is a
ecution of the old, which lies wholly
crown, and in the authority derived
ence; I return therefore to my former
n, that, if ſtations of power, truſt,
and honour, were conſtantly made the
s of virtue and piety, ſuch an admini-
i muſt needs have a mighty influence
faith and morals of the whole king-
and men of great abilities would *then*
our to excel in the duties of a religious
i order to qualify themſelves for public
. I may poſſibly be wrong in ſome
means I preſcribe towards this end:
it is no material objection againſt the
itſelf. Let thoſe who are at the helm
e it better, which perhaps they may
do. Every body will agree, that the
is manifeſt, as well as dangerous; that
emedy is neceſſary, and that none yet
l hath been effectual; which is a ſuffi-
xcuſe for any man, who wiſhes well to
intry, to offer his thoughts, when he
ive no other end in view but the pub-
od. The preſent queen is a princeſs of
ıy virtues as ever filled the throne:
ould it brighten her character to the pre-
nd after ages, if ſhe would exert her
authority to inſtil ſome ſhare of thoſe
into her people, which they are too de-

generate

generate to learn only from her example? and, be it ſpoke with all the veneration poſſible for ſo excellent a ſovereign, her beſt endeavours in this weighty affair are a moſt important part of her duty, as well as of her intereſt, and her honour.

But it muſt be confeſſed, that, as things are now, every man thinks he has laid in a ſufficient ſtock of merit, and may pretend to any employment, provided he hath been loud and frequent in declaring himſelf hearty for the government. It is true, he is a *man of pleaſure* and a *free-thinker*, that is, in other words, he is profligate in his morals, and a deſpiſer of religion; but, in point of party, he is one to be *confided* in; he is an aſſerter of liberty and property; he rattles it out againſt *popery* and *arbitrary power*, and *prieſtcraft*, and *high-church*. It is enough: he is a perſon fully qualified for any employment in the court or the navy, the law or the revenue; where he will be ſure to leave no arts untried of bribery, fraud, injuſtice, oppreſſion, that he can practiſe with any hope of impunity. No wonder ſuch men are true to a government, where liberty runs high, where property, *however attained*, is ſo well ſecured and where the adminiſtration is at leaſt gentle: it is impoſſible they could chuſe another conſtitution, without changing to their loſs.

Fidelity to a preſent eſtabliſhment is indeed the principal means to defend it from a foreign enemy, but without other qualificati-

will not prevent corruptions from within, and ſtates are more often ruined by theſe than the other.

To conclude: whether the propoſals I have offered towards a reformation, be ſuch as are moſt prudent and convenient, may probably be a queſtion; but it is none at all, whether ſome reformation be abſolutely neceſſary; becauſe the nature of things is ſuch, that, if abuſes be not remedied, they will certainly increaſe, nor ever ſtop till they end in the ſubverſion of a commonwealth. As there muſt always of neceſſity be ſome corruptions, ſo in a well-inſtituted ſtate the executive power will be always contending againſt them, by *reducing things* (as *Machiavel* ſpeaks) *to their firſt principles*, never letting abuſes grow inveterate, or multiply ſo far that it will be hard to find remedies, and perhaps impoſſible to apply them. As he, that would keep his houſe in repair, muſt attend every little breach or flaw, and ſupply it immediately, elſe time will bring all to ruin; how much more the common accidents of ſtorms and rain? he muſt live in perpetual danger of his houſe falling about his ears; and will find it cheaper to throw it quite down, and build it again from the ground, perhaps upon a new foundation, or at leaſt in a new form, which may neither be ſo ſafe nor ſo convenient as the old.

A LET-

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LETTER

FROM A

MEMBER of the Houſe of COMMO
in *Ireland*,

TO A

MEMBER of the Houſe of COMMO
in *England*,

CONCERNING THE

SACRAMENTAL TES

Written in the Year 1708.

SIR,

I Received your letter, wherein you of the ſtrange repreſentations mad on your ſide of the water. The inſtance pleaſed to mention is that of the *pr miſſionary*, who, according to you hath been lately *perſecuted* at *Drogh*

* This tract was reprinted in *Irela* when the attempt to repeal the ſacrame revived. There was an explanatory

religion: but it is eaſy to obſerve, how mighty induſtrious ſome people have been, for three or four years paſt, to hand about ſtories of the hardſhips, the merits, the number, and the power of the *preſbyterians* in *Ireland*, to raiſe formidable ideas of the dangers of *popery* there, and to tranſmit all for *England*, improved by great additions, and with ſpecial care to have them inſerted with comments in thoſe infamous weekly papers, that infeſt your coffee-houſes. So, when the clauſe enacting a *ſacramental teſt* was put in execution, it was given out in *England*, that half the juſtices of the peace through this kingdom had laid down their commiſſions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen, and thoſe generally of the loweſt rate in fortune and underſtanding, and ſome of them ſuperannuated. So, when the earl of *Pembroke* was in *Ireland*, and the parliament ſitting, a formal ſtory was very gravely carried to his excellency by ſome zealous members, of a prieſt newly arrived from abroad to the north-weſt parts

prefixed, which is ſaid by lord *Orrery* to have been dictated, or ſtrictly reviſed, by the Dean himſelf: but there are inaccuracies in it, which may well be thought ſufficient to deſtroy its authenticity: that which in the firſt paragraph is called the *following treatiſe* is afterwards ſaid to be an *extract of a diſcourſe*, and it is immediately added, that this *extract* is the *whole*, except ſome paſſages of no conſequence: theſe are included in a parentheſis.

parts of *Ireland*, who had publicly preached to his people to fall a murthering the proteſtants; which, though invented to ſerve an end they were then upon, and are ſtill driving at, was preſently handed over, and printed with ſhrewed remarks by your worthy ſcribblers. In like manner the account of that perſon, who was lately expelled our univerſity for reflecting on the memory of king *William*; what a duſt it raiſed, and how foully it was related, is freſh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced till the univerſity was at the pains of publiſhing a *Latin* paper to juſtify themſelves. And, to mention no more, this ſtory of the *perſecution* at *Drogheda*, how it hath been ſpread and aggravated, what conſequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on thoſe who have leaſt deſerved them, we are already informed. Now, if the end of all this proceeding were a ſecret and myſtery, I ſhould not pretend to give it an interpretation; but ſufficient care hath been taken to explain it, *firſt*, by addreſſes artificially (if not illegally) procured, to ſhew the miſerable ſtate of the *diſſenters* in *Ireland* by reaſon of the *ſacramental teſt*, and to deſire the queen's interceſſion, that it might be repealed. *Then*, it is manifeſt, that * our ſpeaker, when he was laſt year in *England*, ſollicited in perſon ſeveral members of both houſes to have it repealed by an act there; though

* Mr. *Allen Brederick*, afterwards chancellor of *Ireland*, and lord *Middleton*.

though it be a matter purely national, that cannot poſſibly interfere with the trade and intereſt of *England*; and though he himſelf appeared formerly the moſt zealous of all men againſt the injuſtice of binding a nation by laws, to which they do not conſent. And *laſtly*, thoſe weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to *Ireland*, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application againſt the *ſacramental teſt*, and the abſolute neceſſity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakneſs to ſay any thing of ſuch trifles, as are below a ſerious man's notice; much leſs would I diſparage the underſtanding of any party, to think they would chuſe the vileſt and moſt ignorant among mankind, to employ them for the aſſertors of a cauſe. I ſhall only ſay, that the ſcandalous liberty thoſe wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that *ſome men* would be glad to advance. Beſides, how inſipid ſoever thoſe papers are, they ſeem to be levelled to the underſtandings of a great number; they are grown a neceſſary part in the coffee-houſe furniture, and ſome time or other may happen to be read by cuſtomers of all ranks for curioſity and amuſement, becauſe they lie always in the way. One of theſe authors (the fellow that was *pilloried*, I have * forgot his name)

* The fellow that was pilloried. was *Daniel Defoe*, whoſe name *Swift* well knew and remembered, but the

prelates of this age, however his character may be defiled by ſuch mean and dirty hands as thoſe of the *obſervator*, or ſuch as employ him.]

I now come to anſwer the other part of your letter, and ſhall give you my opinion freely about repealing the *ſacramental teſt*; only whereas you deſire my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am a member of parliament, I muſt aſſure you they are exactly the ſame in both capacities.

I muſt begin by telling you, we are generally ſurpriſed at your wonderful kindneſs to us on this occaſion, in being ſo very induſtrious to teach us to ſee our intereſts in a point, where we are ſo unable to ſee it ourſelves. This hath given us ſome ſuſpicion; and tho' in my own particular I am hugely bent to believe that, whenever you concern yourſelves in our affairs, it is certainly *for our good*, yet I have the misfortune to be ſomething ſingular in this belief, and therefore I never attempt to juſtify it, but content myſelf to poſſeſs my own opinion in private, for fear of encountering men of more wit or words, than I have to ſpare.

We at this diſtance, who ſee nothing of the ſpring of actions, are forced by mere conjecture to aſſign two reaſons for your deſire us to repeal the *ſacramental teſt*; one is, becauſe you are ſaid to imagine it will be a step towards the like *good work in England*. The other more immediate, that it will op

way for rewarding *ſeveral perſons*, who have well deſerved upon a *great occaſion*, but who are now unqualified through that impediment.

I do not frequently quote poets, eſpecially *engliſh*: but I remember there is in ſome of Mr. *Cowley*'s love verſes a ſtrain, that I thought extraordinary at fifteen, and have often ſince imagined it to be ſpoken by *Ireland*,

Forbid it, heaven, my life ſhould be
Weigh'd with her leaſt conveniency.

In ſhort, whatever advantage you propoſe to yourſelves by repealing the *ſacramental teſt*, ſpeak it out plainly, it is the beſt argument you can uſe, for we value your intereſt much more than our own; if your little finger be ſore, and you think a poultice made of our *vitals* will give it eaſe, ſpeak the word, and it ſhall be done: the intereſt of our whole kingdom is at any time ready to ſtrike to that of your pooreſt *fiſhing-towns*; it is hard you will not accept our ſervices, unleſs we believe at the ſame time, that you are only conſulting our profit, and giving us marks of your love. If there be a fire at ſome diſtance, and I immediately blow up my houſe before there be occaſion, becauſe you are a man of quality, and apprehend ſome danger to a *corner of your ſtable*; yet why ſhould you require me to attend next morning at your levee, with my humble thanks for the favour you have done?

If we might be allowed to judg
ſelves, we had abundance of ben
ſacramental teſt, and foreſee a num
chiefs would be the conſequence of
it; and we conceive the objectio
gainſt it by the *diſſenters* are of no
force. They tell us of their merit
war in *Ireland*, and how chearful
gaged for the ſafety of the natio
they had thought they had been fi
other people's quarrels, perhaps it
cooled their zeal; and that for
they ſhall ſit down quietly, and le
work ourſelves; nay, that it is ne
ſhould do ſo, ſince they cannot ta
under the penalty of high treaſon.

Now ſuppoſing them to have do
ty, as I believe they did, and no
them about the * *fly on the wheel*
liberty, *property*, and *religion*, ha
three ſubjects of the quarrel; and
thoſe been amply ſecured to them
at that time a *mental reſervation*
and *employments?* and muſt theſe
be added henceforward in our nat
rels? It is grown a mighty conc
ſome men, to melt down the
church eſtabliſhed by law, into that

* Alluding to a fable of a fly, who,
on the ſpoke of a wheel belonging to a
was driven rapidly along the road, e
own importance, and cried out, "*W*
raiſe?"

gion of the magiſtrate; of which appellation it is eaſier to find the reaſon than the ſenſe: if by the *magiſtrate* they mean the *prince* [the expreſſion includes a falſhood; for when king *James* was *prince*] the eſtabliſhed church was the ſame it is now. If by the ſame word they mean the legiſlature, we deſire no more. Be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of *Ireland* to be the national church, and the only one eſtabliſhed by law, and are willing by the ſame law to give a *toleration* to diſſenters: but if once we repeal our *ſacramental teſt*, and grant a *toleration*, or ſuſpend the execution of the penal laws, I do not ſee how we can be ſaid to have any eſtabliſhed church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many eſtabliſhed churches, as there are ſects of diſſenters. No, ſay they, yours will ſtill be the national church, becauſe your biſhops and clergy are maintained by the public: but *that* I ſuppoſe will be of no long duration, and it would be very unjuſt it ſhould, becauſe, to ſpeak in *Tindal*'s phraſe, it is not reaſonable that revenues ſhould be annexed to one opinion more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the ſame author's maxim, that no free-born ſubject ought to pay for maintaining ſpeculations he does not believe. *But why ſhould any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived the opportunity of ſerving his queen and country!* their zeal is commendable, and, when employments go a begging for want of hands, they ſhall be ſure to have the refuſal, only upon con-

condition they will not pretend to them up maxims, which equally include *atheiſts*, *turi jews*, *infidels*, and *heretics*; or, which is ſt more dangerous, even *papiſts* themſelves: t former you allow, the other you deny: b cauſe theſe laſt own a foreign power, a therefore muſt be ſhut out. But there is great weight in this; for their religion c ſuit with free ſtates, with limited or abſolu monarchies as well as a better; and the *pop* power in *France* is but a ſhadow; ſo that u on this foot there need be no great danger the conſtitution by admitting *papiſts* to en ployments. I will help you to enough them ſhall be ready to allow the *pope* as litt power here as you pleaſe; and the bare op nion of his being vicar of Chriſt is but a *ſp culative point*, for which no man it ſeen ought to be deprived the capacity of ſervin his country.

But, if you pleaſe, I will tell you the gre objection we have againſt repealing this ſan *ſacramental teſt*. It is, that we are verily pe ſuaded, the conſequence will be an intire a teration of religion among us in no great com paſs of years. And pray, obſerve how w reaſon in *Ireland* upon this matter.

We obſerve the *Scots* in our northern par to be a brave induſtrious people, extremel devoted to their religion, and full of an un *diſturbed* affection towards each other. Num bers of that noble nation, invited by the fer tilities of the ſoil, are glad to exchange thei barren hills of *Loquaber* by a voyage of thre

hours

hours, for our fruitful vales of *Doun* and *Antrim*, ſo productive of that *grain*, which at little trouble and leſs expence finds diet and lodging for themſelves and their cattle. Theſe people, by their extreme parſimony, wonderful *dexterity in dealing*, and firm adherence to one-another, ſoon grow into wealth from the *ſmalleſt beginnings*, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily by new ſupplies: beſides, when they are the ſuperior number in any tract of ground, they are not *over patient of mixture*; but ſuch, whom they cannot *aſſimilate*, ſoon find it their intereſt to remove. I have done all in my power on ſome land of my own to preſerve two or three *engliſh* fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impoſſible, though one of them thought he had ſufficiently made his court by turning preſbyterian. Add to all this, that they bring along with them from *Scotland* a moſt formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at leaſt three degrees worſe than popery: and it is natural it ſhould be ſo, ſince they come over full fraught with that ſpirit, which taught them to aboliſh epiſcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and obſerve, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very conſiderable number in the houſe of commons; and have no *other merit*, but that of doing their duty in their ſeveral ſtations; therefore, when the teſt is repealed, it will be highly ſeaſonable they ſhould give place to thoſe, who have much *greater ſervices* to plead. The commiſſions of the revenue are

ſoon

ſoon diſpoſed of, and the collectors and other officers throughout the kingdom are generally appointed by the commiſſioners, which gives them a mighty influence in every county. As much may be ſaid of the great offices in the law; and when this door is open to let diſſenters into the commiſſions of the peace, to make them high-ſheriffs, mayors of corporations, and officers of the army and militia, I do not ſee how it can be otherwiſe, conſidering their induſtry and our ſupineneſs, but that they may, in a very few years, grow to a majority in the houſe of commons, and conſequently make themſelves the national religion, and have a fair pretence to demand the revenues of the church for their teachers. I know it will be objected, that, if all this ſhould happen as I deſcribe, yet the preſbyterian religion could never be made the national by act of parliament, becauſe our biſhops are ſo great a number in the houſe of lords; and, without a majority there, the church could not be aboliſhed. But I have *two very good expedients* for that, which I ſhall leave you to gueſs, and I dare ſwear our ſpeaker here has often thought on, eſpecially having endeavoured at *one of them* ſo lately. To convince you, that this deſign is not ſo foreign from *ſome people's* thoughts, I muſt let you know, that an honeſt *bell-weather* * of our houſe (you have him now in *England*, I wiſh you could keep him there) had the impudence ſome years ago, in

pri-

* Supposed to be Mr. Broderick.

parliament-time, to ſhake my lord biſhop of *Kilaloo* * by his lawn ſleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, *that he hoped to live to ſee the day, when there ſhould not be one of his order in the kingdom.*

Theſe laſt lines perhaps you think a digreſſion; therefore to return, I told you the conſequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the *ſacramental teſt*, which although the greateſt number of ſuch as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not three-pence whether there be any *church*, or no; yet, becauſe they pretend to argue from conſcience as well as policy and intereſt, I thought it proper to underſtand and anſwer them accordingly.

Now, ſir, in anſwer to your queſtion, whether, if any attempt ſhould be made here for repealing the *ſacramental teſt*, it would be likely to ſucceed? the number of profeſſed diſſenters in this parliament was, as I remember, ſomething under a dozen, and I cannot call to mind above thirty others, who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the preſbyterian party having with great induſtry muſtered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occaſion of a hint in my lord † *Pembroke*'s ſpeech, to introduce a debate about repealing the *teſt clauſe*, when there appeared at leaſt four to one odds againſt them; and the ableſt of thoſe, who were reckoned

* Dr. *Lindſay*, afterwards lord primate.

† *Then* lord lieutenant of Ireland.

ned the most stanch and thorough-paced *whigs* upon all other occasions, fell off with an abhorrence at the first mention of this.

I must desire you to take notice, that the terms of *whig* and *tory* do not properly express the different interest in our parliament. [I remember, when I was last in *England*, I told the king, that the highest tories we had with us would make tolerable whigs there: this was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have since admitted new characteristics, which did not come within our definition.] Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of king *William*, as our great deliverer from popery and slavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our present queen with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender; whoever approves the succession to the crown in the house of *Hanover*, and is for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of *England*, with an *indulgence* for scrupulous consciences; such a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be justly allowed a *whig*: and I believe there are not six members in our house of commons, who may not fairly come under this description. So that the parties among us are made upon one side of *moderate whigs*, and on the other of *presbyterians* and their *abettors*, by which last I mean such who can equally go to a *church* or *conventicle*, or such who are indifferent to all religion in general; or, lastly, such who affect to bear a personal rancour towards the clergy: these last are a

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ſett of men not of our own growth, their principles at leaſt have been *imported* of late years; yet this whole party put together will ſcarce, I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the houſe of lords, the difficulty there is conceived at leaſt as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in *England*, that the biſhops are generally pretty near a *par* of the houſe, and we reckon they will be all to a man againſt repealing the *teſt*; and yet their lordſhips are generally thought as good whigs upon our principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay-lords, who appear to have no great devotion for epiſcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with whom *certain powerful motives* might be uſed for removing any difficulty whatſoever: but theſe are, in no ſort, a number to carry any point againſt a conjunction of the reſt and the whole bench of biſhops.

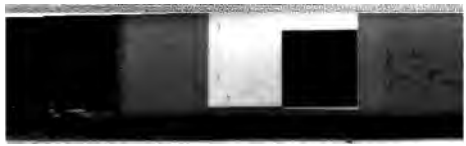
Beſides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly againſt repealing the *teſt*, though they are intirely devoted to her majeſty, and hardly one in an hundred, who are not very good *whigs* in our acceptation of the word. And I muſt let you know, that we of *Ireland* are not yet come up to *other folks refinements*, for we generally love and eſteem our clergy, and think they deſerve it; nay, we are apt to lay ſome weight upon their opinion, and would not willingly diſoblige them, at leaſt, unleſs it were upon ſome greater point of intereſt

than

an this. And their judgment in the
nt affair is the more to be regarded, beca
ney are the laſt perſons, who will be affec
by it: this makes us think them impart
and that their concern is only for religion:
the intereſt of the kingdom. Becauſe the
which repeals the *teſt*, will only qualify a
man for an employment, but not a *preſbyt*
an or *anabaptiſt* preacher for a church-livi
Now I muſt take leave to inform you, t
ſeveral members of our houſe, and myſelf
mong the reſt, knowing ſome time ago w
was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy
knew of any diſtinction, and deſired th
judgment in the matter; wherein we foun
moſt wonderful agreement, there being
one divine that we could hear of in the wh
kingdom, who appeared of a contrary ſen
ment, wherein he afterwards ſtood alone
the *convocation*, very little to his *credit*, t
as he hoped, very much to his *intereſt*.

I will now conſider a little the argum
offered to ſhew the advantages, or rathe
neceſſity of repealing the *teſt* in *Ireland*.
are told the popiſh intereſt is here ſo for
ble, that all hands ſhould be joined to
under; that the only names of diſtinc
mong us ought to be thoſe of *proteſtc*
papiſt; and that this expedient is th
means to *unite* all proteſtants upon or
mon bottom. All which is nothing
repreſentation and miſtake.

If we were under any real fear of t
in this kingdom, it would be hard to



ſo ſtupid, as not to be equally apprehenſive with *others*, ſince we are likely to be the greateſt, and more immediate ſufferers: but, on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconſiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almoſt intirely taken from them, and they are rendered uncapable of purchaſing any more; and, for the little that remains, proviſion is made by the late act againſt popery, that it will daily crumble away: to prevent which, ſome of the moſt conſiderable among them are already turned proteſtants, and ſo in all probability will many more. Then, the popiſh prieſts are all regiſtered, and without permiſſion (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no ſucceſſors; that the proteſtant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without diſcipline, or natural courage, being little better than *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*, are out of all capacity of doing any miſchief, if they were ever ſo well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join in any conſiderable numbers with an *invader*, having found ſo ill ſucceſs when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them, had been trained for ſome years under a *popiſh deputy*, and received ſuch mighty aids from the *French* king*.

* In the reign of king *James* II. and till after the battle of the *Boyne* in 1690.

as to that argument uſed for repealing
, that it will unite all proteſtants agai
: *common enemy*; I wonder by what fig
oſe gentlemen ſpeak, who are pleaſed
lvance it: ſuppoſe, in order to increaſe
iendſhip between you and me, a law ſho
aſs, that I muſt have half your eſtate;
you think that would much advance the uni
between us? or ſuppoſe I ſhare my fortu
equally between my own *children* and a *ſtra*
ger, whom I take into my protection; w
that be a method to unite them? it is an o
way of uniting parties to deprive a *major*
of part of their ancient right, by conferri
it on a *faction* who had never any right at a
and therefore cannot be ſaid to ſuffer any l
or injury, if it be refuſed them. Neither
it very clear, how far ſome people may ſtret
the term of *common enemy*. How many
there of thoſe who call themſelves proteſta
who look upon our worſhip to be idolatr
as well as that of the papiſts, and with
charity put *prelacy* and *popery* together as t
convertible?

And therefore there is one ſmall do
would be willingly ſatisfied in, before I
to the repealing of the *teſt*; that is, w
theſe ſame *proteſtants*, when they have
dexterity made themſelves the nation
gion, and diſpoſed the church revenue
their *paſtors*, or *themſelves*, will be ſo
allow *us diſſenters*, I do not ſay a ſha
ployments, but a bare *toleration* by l
reaſon of my doubt is, becauſe I hav

very idle as to read above fifty pamphlets written by as many preſbyterian divines, loudly diſclaiming this idol *toleration*, ſome of them calling it (I know not how properly) a *rag of popery*, and all agreeing it was to *eſtabliſh iniquity by a law*. Now I would be glad to know, when and where *their ſucceſſors* have renounced this doctrine, and before what witneſſes. Becauſe, methinks, I ſhould be loth to ſee my poor titular biſhop *in partibus* ſeized on by miſtake in the dark for a jeſuit, or be forced myſelf to keep a chaplain diſguiſed like my butler, and ſteal to prayers in a back room, as my grandfather uſed in thoſe times, when the church of *England* was *malignant*.

But this is ripping up old quarels long forgot; popery is now the *common enemy*, againſt which we muſt all unite: I have been tired in hiſtory with the perpetual folly of thoſe ſtates, who call in foreigners to aſſiſt them againſt a *common enemy*: but the miſchief was, theſe *allies* would never be brought to allow, that the common enemy was quite ſubdued. And they had reaſon; for it proved at laſt, that one part of the common enemy was thoſe who called them in, and ſo the *allies* became at length the *maſters*.

It is agreed among naturaliſts, that a *lion* is a larger, a ſtronger, and more dangerous enemy than a *cat*; yet if a man were to have his choice, either a *lion* at his foot, bound faſt with three or four chains, his teeth drawn out, and his claws pared to the quick, or an

ry *cat* in full liberty at his throat; he uld take no long time to determine.

I have been ſometimes admiring the wonrful ſignification of that word *perſecution*, id what various interpretations it hath acuired even within my memory. When I vas a boy, I often heard the preſbyterians complain, that they were not permitted to ſerve God in their own way; they ſaid they did not repine at our employments, but thought that all men who live peaceably ought to have liberty of conſcience, and leave to aſſemble. That impediment being removed at the revolution, they ſoon learned to ſwallow the *ſacramental teſt*, and began to take very large ſteps, wherein all who offered to oppoſe them, were called men of a *perſecuting ſpirit*. During the time the bill againſt occaſional conformity was on foot, *perſecution* was every day rung in our ears, and now at laſt the *ſacramental teſt* itſelf has the ſame name. Where then is this matter likely to end, when the obtaining of one requeſt is only uſed as a ſtep to demand another? A lover is ever complaining of *cruelty*, while one thing is denied him; and, when the lady conſes to be *cruel*, ſhe is from the next moment at his mercy: ſo *perſecution*, it ſeems, is a very thing, that will not leave it in mens power to *perſecute others*.

There is one argument offered againſt the *ſacramental teſt* by a ſort of men, who are content to be ſtiled of the church of *En-*

who perhaps attend its ſervice in the morning, and go with their wives to a *conventicle* in the afternoon, confeſſing they heard very good doctrine in both. Theſe men are much offended, that ſo holy an inſtitution, as that of the Lord's ſupper, ſhould be made ſubſervient to ſuch mercenary purpoſes as the getting of an employment. Now it ſeems, the law, concluding all men to be members of that church where they receive the ſacrament; and ſuppoſing all men to live like chriſtians (eſpecially thoſe who are to have employments) did imagine they received the ſacrament in courſe about four times a year; and therefore only deſired it might appear by certificate to the public, that ſuch, who took an office, were members of the church eſtabliſhed, by doing their ordinary duty. However, *leſt we ſhould offend them*, we have often deſired they would deal candidly with us: for, if the matter ſtuck only there, we would propoſe it in parliament, that every man, who takes an employment, ſhould, inſtead of receiving the ſacrament, be obliged to ſwear, that he is a member of the church of *Ireland* by law eſtabliſhed, with epiſcopacy, *and ſo forth*; and, as they do now in *Scotland, to be true to the kirk*. But, when we drive them thus far, they always retire to the main body of the argument, urge the hardſhip that men ſhould be deprived the liberty of ſerving their queen and country on account of their conſcience: and, in ſhort, have recourſe to the common ſtile of their half-brethren. Now, whether this be a ſincere

of arguing, I will appeal to any other gment but theirs.

There is another topic of clamour some- at parallel to the foregoing: it ſeems by e teſt-clauſe the *military* officers are obli- d to receive the ſacrament, as well as the *vil*. And it is a matter of ſome patience o hear the diſſenters declaiming upon this ccaſion: they cry they are *diſarmed*, they re uſed like papiſts: when an enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they muſt ſit ſtill, and ſee their throats cut, or be hanged for high-treaſon if they offer to defend themſelves. Miſerable condition! woful dilemma! it is happy for us all, that the pretender was not appriſed of this *paſſive preſbyterian* princi- ple, elſe he would infallibly have landed in our *northern* parts, and found them all ſat down in their formalities, as the *Gauls* did the *Roman* ſenators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes, to appeaſe thei indignation, we venture to give them hopes that in ſuch a caſe the government will per haps connive, and hardly be ſo ſevere to har them for defending it againſt the letter of t law; to which they readily anſwer, that th will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight c battles ourſelves. Sometimes we offer to an act, by which, upon all *popiſh* inſurre ons at home, or *popiſh* invaſions from abr the government ſhall be impowered to g commiſſions to all proteſtants whatſoe without that *perſecuting* circumſtance of o *ing them to ſay their prayers* when the

ceive the ſacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of *occaſional* commiſſions; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis*; and they had rather loſe their eſtates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleaſure of *governing*.

But to bring this diſcourſe towards a concluſion: if the diſſenters will be ſatisfied with ſuch a *toleration* by law, as hath been granted them in *England*, I believe the majority of both houſes will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to perſuade this houſe of commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to ſay the truth, we make a mighty difference here between ſuffering *thiſtles* to grow among us, and wearing them for *poſies*. We are fully convinced in our conſciences, that *we* ſhall always *tolerate them*; but not quite ſo fully that *they* will always *tolerate us*, when it comes to their turn; and *we* are the majority, and *we* are in poſſeſſion.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obſolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the ſafer ſide, and may be allowed to point out the dangers he conceives to foreſee in the abrogation of it.

For, if the conſequences of repealing this clauſe ſhould at ſome time or other enable the preſbyterians to work themſelves up into the national church, inſtead of *uniting* proteſtants, it would ſow eternal diviſions among them. Firſt, their own ſects, which now lie dormant, would be ſoon at cuffs *again* with each other

about power and preferment; and the *diſſe*
ing epiſcopals, perhaps diſcontented to ſuc
degree, as, upon ſome *fair unhappy* occaſi
would be able to ſhake the firmeſt loyal
which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither is it very difficult to conjectu
from ſome late proceedings, at what a r
this *faction* is like to drive, where-ever it g
the *whip* and the *ſeat*. They have alrea
ſet up courts of ſpiritual judicature in op
contempt of the laws: they ſend *miſſionar*
every-where, without being invited, in or
to convert the *church of England* folks to *ch*
tianity. They are as vigilant as *I know w*
to attend perſons on their death-beds, and
purpoſes much alike. And what practi
ſuch principles as theſe (with many other t
might be invidious to mention) may ſpaw
when they are *laid out to the ſun*, you m
determine at leiſure.

Laſtly, Whether we are ſo intirely ſure
their loyalty upon the preſent foot of gover
ment as you may imagine, their detract
make a queſtion, which however does, I thin
by no means affect the body of diſſenters: b
the inſtance produced is of ſome among th
leading teachers in the north, who, having r
fuſed the *abjuration oath*, yet continue th
preaching, and have abundance of followe
The particulars are out of my head; but t
fact is notorious enough, and I believe ha
been publiſhed; I think it a pity, it hath n
been *remedied*.

Th

Thus I have fairly given you, ſir, my own ion, as well as that of a great majority oth houſes here, relating to this weighty r; upon which I am confident you may rely reckon. I will leave you to make uſe of it you pleaſe.

I am with great reſpect,

lin, Dec. 4, 1708. *Sir,*

Yours, &c.

A

TRITICAL ES

UPON THE

FACULTIES OF THE M

To ———

SIR,

BEING ſo great a lover of anti was reaſonable to ſuppoſe, you very much obliged with any thing, new. I have been of late offended a writers of eſſays and moral diſcourſes ning into ſtale topics and threadbare and not handling their ſubject fully a all which errors I have carefully avo following eſſay, which I have prop pattern for young writers to imita thoughts and obſervations being int the quotations untouched by others, the mighty importance, and treated with n and perſpicuity, it hath coſt me a gre time; and I deſire you will accept an it as the utmoſt effort of my genius.

PHiloſophers ſay, that man is a m or little world, reſembling in every part of the great: and, in my the body natural may be compared t dy politic: and, if this be ſo, ho

epicurean's opinion be true, that the univerſe was formed by a fortuitous concourſe of atoms; which I will no more believe, than that the accidental jumbling of the alphabet could fall by chance into a moſt ingenious and learned treatiſe of philoſophy. *Rijum teneatis amici?* [Hor.] This falſe opinion muſt needs create many more; it is like an error in the firſt concoction, which cannot be corrected in the ſecond; the foundation is weak, and whatever ſuperſtructure you raiſe upon it, muſt of neceſſity fall to the ground. Thus men are led from one error to another, until with *Ixion* they embrace a cloud inſtead of *Juno*: or, like the dog in the fable, loſe the ſubſtance in gaping at the ſhadow. For ſuch opinions cannot cohere; but, like the iron and clay in the toes of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s image, muſt ſeparate and break in pieces. I have read in a certain author, that *Alexander* wept, becauſe he had no more worlds to conquer; which he needed not have done, if the fortuitous concourſe of atoms could create one: but this is an opinion fitter for that many-headed beaſt the vulgar to entertain, than for ſo wiſe a man as *Epicurus*; the corrupt part of his ſect only borrowed his name, as the monkey did the cat's claw to draw the cheſnut out of the fire.

However, the firſt ſtep to the cure is to know the diſeaſe; and though truth may be difficult to find, becauſe, as the philoſopher obſerves, ſhe lives in the bottom of a well, yet we need not, like blind men, grope in

open day-light. I hope I may be among ſo many far more learned me fer my mite, ſince a ſtander-by mi times perhaps ſee more of the game, that plays it. But I do not think a pher obliged to account for every pl non in nature, or drown himſelf wi tle, for not being able to ſolve the eb flowing of the tide, in that fatal ſe paſt upon himſelf, *Quia te non capio me.* Wherein he was at once the j the criminal, the accuſer and exe *Socrates* on the other hand, who ſaid nothing, was pronounced by the ora the wiſeſt man in the world.

But, to return from this digreſſion it as clear as any demonſtration i that nature does nothing in vain; if able to dive into her ſecret receſſes, v find that the ſmalleſt blade of graſs, contemptible weed, has its particular ſhe is chiefly admirable in her minu poſitions, the leaſt and moſt contem ſect moſt diſcovers the art of nature, ſo call it, though nature, which de variety, will always triumph over art the poet obſerves,

Naturam expellas furca licet, uſque r

But the various opinions of phi have ſcattered through the world plagues of the mind, as *Pandora*'s thoſe of the body, only with this di

that they have not left hope at the bottom. And, if truth be not fled with *Aſtrea*, ſhe is certainly as hidden as the ſource of *Nile*, and can be found only in *Utopia*. Not that I would reflect on thoſe wiſe ſages, which would be a ſort of ingratitude; and he that calls a man ungrateful, ſums up all the evil that a man can be guilty of:

Ingratum ſi dixeris, omnia dicis.

But what I blame the philoſophers for (though ſome may think it a paradox) is chiefly their pride; nothing leſs than an *ipſe dixit*, and you muſt pin your faith on their ſleeve. And, though *Diogenes* lived in a tub, there might be, for aught I know, as much pride under his rags, as in the fine ſpun garment of the divine *Plato*. It is reported of this *Diogenes*, that when *Alexander* came to ſee him, and promiſed to give him whatever he would aſk, the *cynic* only anſwered, *Take not from me what thou canſt not give me, but ſtand from between me and the light*; which was almoſt as extravagant as the philoſopher, that flung his money into the ſea with this remarkable ſaying ——

How different was this man from the uſurer, who, being told his ſon would ſpend all he had got, replied, *He cannot take more pleaſure in ſpending, that I did in getting it.* Theſe men could ſee the faults of each other, but not their own; thoſe they flung into the bag behind

behind *; *non videmus id manticæ q tergo eſt*. I may perhaps be cenſured f free opinion by thoſe carping momus's, authors worſhip as the *Indians* do the for fear. They will endeavour to gi reputation as many wounds as the man almanack; but I value it not: and pe like flies, they may buz ſo often abo candle, till they burn their wings. muſt pardon me, if I venture to give this advice, not to rail at what they underſtand: it does but diſcover tha tormenting paſſion of envy, than whi greateſt tyrant never invented a more torment.

Invidia Siculi non invenere Tyranni
Tormentum majus.——

I muſt be ſo bold to tell my critics an lings, that they can no more judge of than a man that is born blind can hav true idea of colours. I have always o ed, that your empty veſſels ſound loud value their laſhes as little as the ſea did of *Xerxes*, when he whipped it †. Th

* Alluding to the fable of *Phædrus*, that had hung over every man's ſhoulder two ſatch which one hung before, and contained the fa his neighbours; and the other behind, whic tained his own.

† It is told of *Xerxes*, that when the ſea

moſt favour a man can expect from them is, that which *Polyphemus* promiſed *Ulyſſes*, that he would devour him the laſt: they think to ſubdue a writer, as *Cæſar* did his enemy, with a *Veni, vidi, vici*. I confeſs I value the opinion of the judicious few, a *Rymer*, a *Dennis*, or a *W——k*; but for the reſt, to give my judgment at once, I think the long diſpute among the philoſophers about a *vacuum* may be determined in the affirmative, that it is to be found in a critic's head. They are at beſt but the drones of the learned world, who devour the honey, and will not work themſelves; and a writer need no more regard them, than the moon does the barking of a little ſenſeleſs cur. For, in ſpite of their terrible roaring, you may with half an eye diſcover the *aſs* under the *lion*'s ſkin.

But to return to our diſcourſe: *Demoſthenes*, being aſked what was the firſt part of an orator, replied, *action*: what was the ſecond, *action*: what was the third, *action*: and ſo on *ad infinitum*. This may be true in oratory; but contemplation in other things exceeds action. And therefore a wiſe man is never leſs alone, than when he is alone:

Nunquam minus ſolus, quam cum ſolus.

And *Archimedes*, the famous mathematician, was ſo intent upon his problems, that he never minded the ſoldier who came to kill him. Therefore

down the bridge of boats, which he had laid over the *Helleſpont*, he ordered it to be laſhed, and fetters to be thrown into it.

Therefore, not to detract from the juſt praiſe which belongs to orators, they ought to conſider that nature, which gave us two eyes to ſee, and two ears to hear, has given us but one tongue to ſpeak, wherein however ſome do ſo abound, that the virtuoſi, who have been ſo long in ſearch for the perpetual motion, may infallibly find it there.

Some men admire republics, becauſe orators flouriſh there moſt, and are the great enemies of tyranny: but my opinion is, that one tyrant is better than a hundred. Beſides, theſe orators inflame the people, whoſe anger is really but a ſhort fit of madneſs:

Ira furor brevis eſt.—— HOR.

After which, laws are like cobwebs, which may catch ſmall flies, but let waſps and hornets break through. But in oratory the greateſt art is to hide art:

Artis eſt celare Artem.

But this may be the work of time, we muſt lay hold on opportunities, and let ſlip no occaſion, elſe we ſhall be forced to weave *Penelope*'s web, unravel in the night what we ſpun in the day. And therefore I have obſerved, that time is painted with a lock before, and bald behind, ſignifying thereby, that we muſt take time (as we ſay) by the forelock, for, when it is once paſt, there is no recalling it.

The mind of man is at firſt (if you will pardon the expreſſion) like a *tabula raſa*, or like wax, which, while it is ſoft, is capable of

of any impreſſion, till time has hardened it. And at length death, that grim tyrant, ſtops us in the midſt of our career. The greateſt conquerors have at laſt been conquered by death, which ſpares none, from the ſceptre to the ſpade:

Mors omnibus communis.

All rivers go to the ſea, but none return from it. *Xerxes* wept when he beheld his army, to conſider that in leſs than an hundred years they would be all dead. *Anacreon* was choaked with a grape-ſtone; and violent joy kills as well as violent grief. There is nothing in this world conſtant, but inconſtancy: yet *Plato* thought, that, if virtue would appear to the world in her own native dreſs, all men would be inamoured with her. But now, ſince intereſt governs the world, and men neglect the golden mean, *Jupiter* himſelf, if he came on the earth, would be deſpiſed, unleſs it were, as he did to *Danae*, in a golden ſhower: for men now-a-days worſhip the riſing ſun, and not the ſetting.

Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos.

Thus have I, in obedience to your commands, ventured to expoſe myſelf to cenſure in this critical age. Whether I have done right to my ſubject, muſt be left to the judgment of the learned: however, I cannot but hope, that my attempting of it may be an encouragement for ſome able pen to perform it with more ſucceſs.

PRE-

PREDICTIONS

FOR

The YEAR 1708.

Wherein the month and day of the month are ſet down, the perſons named, and the great actions and events of next year particularly related, as they will come to paſs.

Written to prevent the people of England *from being farther impoſed on by vulgar almanack-makers.*

By ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Eſq;

I HAVE long conſidered the groſs abuſe of aſtrology in this kingdom, and, upon debating the matter with myſelf, I could not poſſibly lay the fault upon the art, but upon thoſe groſs impoſtors, who ſet up to be the artiſts. I know ſeveral learned men have contended, that the whole is a cheat; that it is abſurd and ridiculous to imagine the ſtars can have any influence at all upon human actions, thoughts, or inclinations; and whoever hath not bent his ſtudies that way, may be excuſed for thinking ſo, when he ſees in how wretched a manner that noble art is treated by a few mean illiterate traders between us and the ſtars; who import a yearly ſtock of nonſenſe, lyes, folly, and impertinence, which

which they offer to the world as genuine from the planets, though they deſcend from no greater a height than their own brains.

I intend in a ſhort time to publiſh a large and rational defence of this art, and therefore ſhall ſay no more in its juſtification at preſent, than that it hath in all ages been defended by many learned men, and among the reſt by *Socrates* himſelf, whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wiſeſt of uninſpired mortals: to which if we add, that thoſe who have condemned this art, tho' otherwiſe learned, having been ſuch as either did not apply their ſtudies this way, or at leaſt did not ſucceed in their applications; their teſtimony will not be of much weight to its diſadvantage, ſince they are liable to the common objection of condemning what they did not underſtand.

Nor am I at all offended, or do I think it an injury to the art, when I ſee the common dealers in it, the *ſtudents in aſtrology*, the *philomaths*, and the reſt of that tribe, treated by wiſe men with the utmoſt ſcorn and contempt; but I rather wonder when I obſerve the gentlemen in the country, rich enough to ſerve the nation in parliament, poring in *Partridge*'s almanack to find out the events of the year at home and abroad; not daring to propoſe a hunting-match, till *Gadbury* or he have fixed the weather.

I will allow either of the two I have mentioned, or any other of the fraternity, to be not only aſtrologers, but conjurers too, if I do not produce a hundred inſtances in all their alma-

almanacks to convince any reaſonable man, that they do not ſo much as underſtand common grammar and ſyntax that they are not able to ſpell any word out of the uſual road, nor even in their prefaces to write common ſenſe or intelligible *engliſh*. Then, for their obſervations and predictions, they are ſuch as will equally ſuit any age or country in the world. *This month a certain great perſon will be threatened with death or ſickneſs*. This the news-papers will tell them; for there we find at the end of the year, that no month paſſes without the death of ſome perſon of note: and it would be hard, if it ſhould be otherwiſe, when there are at leaſt two thouſand perſons of note in this kingdom, many of them old, and the almanack-maker has the liberty of chuſing the ſickliеſt ſeaſon of the year, where he may fix his prediction. Again, *this month an eminent clergyman will be preferred*; of which there may be ſome hundreds, half of them with one foot in the grave. Then, *ſuch a planet in ſuch a houſe ſhews great machinations, plots and conſpiracies, that may in time be brought to light*: after which, if we hear of any diſcovery, the aſtrologer gets the honour; if not, his prediction ſtill ſtands good. And at laſt, *God preſerve king* William *from all his open and ſecret enemies, amen*. When if the king ſhould happen to have died, the aſtrologer plainly foretold it; otherwiſe it paſſeth for the pious ejaculation of a loyal ſubject; tho' it unluckily happened in ſome of their almanacks,

nacks, that poor king *William* was prayed for many months after he was dead, becauſe it fell out, that he died about the beginning of the year.

To mention no more of their impertinent predictions, what have we to do with their advertiſements about *pills and drink for the venereal diſeaſe?* or their mutual quarrels in verſe and proſe of *whig* and *tory*, wherewith the ſtars have little to do?

Having long obſerved and lamented theſe, and a hundred other abuſes of this art too tedious to repeat, I reſolved to proceed in a new way, which I doubt not will be to the general ſatisfaction of the kingdom: I can this year produce but a ſpecimen of what I deſign for the future; having employed moſt part of my time in adjuſting and correcting the calculations I made ſome years paſt, becauſe I would offer nothing to the world, of which I am not as fully ſatisfied, as that I am now alive. For theſe two laſt years I have not failed in above one or two particulars, and thoſe of no very great moment. I exactly foretold the miſcarriage at *Toulon*, with all its particulars, and the loſs of admiral *Shovel*, though I was miſtaken as to the day, placing that accident about thirty-ſix hours ſooner than it happened; but, upon reviewing my ſchemes, I quickly found the cauſe of that error. I likewiſe foretold the battle of *Almanza* to the very day and hour, with the loſs on both ſides, and the conſequences thereof. All which I ſhewed to ſome friends many

months

months before they happened,
them papers ſealed up, to open
after which they were at liberty
and there they found my pred
every article, except one or tw

As for the few following pr
offer the world, I forebore to
till I had peruſed the ſeveral
the year we are now entering u
them all in the uſual ſtrain,
reader will compare their man
and here I make bold to tell
I lay the whole credit of my
truth of theſe predictions; and
tent, that *Partridge*, and the r
may hoot me for a cheat and
fail in any ſingle particular of n
lieve, any man who reads th
look upon me to be at leaſt
much honeſty and underſtandi
mon maker of almanacks. I
the dark; I am not wholly un
world; I have ſet my name at
a mark of infamy to mankind
find I deceive them.

In one point I muſt deſire t
that I talk more ſparingly of hc
it would be imprudence to diſc
ſtate, ſo it might be dangerous
but in ſmaller matters, and ſu
of public conſequence, I ſhall
and the truth of my conjecture
appear from theſe as the other
moſt ſignal events abroad in *Fra*

', and *Spain*, I ſhall make no ſcruple to
ict them in plain terms: ſome of them
of importance, and I hope I ſhall ſeldom
ake the day they ſhall happen; therefore,
ink good to inform the reader, that I all
g make uſe of the *old ſtyle* obſerved in
and, which I deſire he will compare with
of the news-papers, at the time they re-
the actions I mention.

muſt add one word more: I know it hath
the opinion of ſeveral learned perſons,
think well enough of the true art of aſ-
gy, that the ſtars do only *incline*, and
force the actions or wills of men: and
fore, however I may proceed by right
, yet I cannot in prudence ſo confidently
e the events will follow exactly as I pre-
them.

hope I have maturely conſidered this ob-
on, which in ſome caſes is of no little
ht. For example: a man may, by the
ence of an over-ruling planet, be diſpo-
r inclined to luſt, rage, or avarice, and
y the force of reaſon overcome that evil
ence; and this was the caſe of *Socrates**:
but,

* A phyſiognomiſt, being brought by *Socrates*'s
rs to examine the features of their maſter, pro-
ed him, according to the rules of art, paſſionate,
perate, and libidinous; and, when he was re-
ed and derided by them for a judgment ſo re-
from the truth, *Socrates* reſcued him from their
by declaring, that his natural diſpoſition was
as had been deſcribed, before it was corrected
ſtudy of philoſophy.

but, the great events of the world uſu
pending upon numbers of men, it ca
expected they ſhould all unite to cro
inclinations, for purſuing a general
wherein they unanimouſly agree.
the influence of the ſtars reaches to m
tions and events, which are not any
the power of reaſon; as ſickneſs, dea
what we commonly call accidents, wit
more needleſs to repeat.

But now it is time to proceed to my
tions, which I have begun to calcula
the time that the *ſun* enters into *Aries*
this I take to be properly the begir
the natural year. I purſue them to t
that he enters *Libra*, or ſomewhat mor
is the buſy period of the year. The
der I have not yet adjuſted, upon acc
ſeveral impediments needleſs here to m
beſides, I muſt remind the reader aga
this is but a ſpecimen of what I deſign
ceeding years to treat more at large, i
have liberty and encouragement.

My firſt prediction is but a trifl
will mention it to ſhew how ignora
ſottiſh pretenders to aſtrology are in th
concerns: it relates to *Partridge* th
nack-maker; I have conſulted the ſt
nativity by my own rules, and find
infallibly die upon the 29th of *Mar*
about eleven at night, of a raging
therefore I adviſe him to conſider of
ſettle his affairs in time.

The month of *April* will be obſervable for the death of many great perſons. On the 4th will die cardinal *de Noailles*, archbiſhop of *Paris*: on the 11th the young prince of *Aſturias*, ſon to the duke of *Anjou*: on the 14th a great *peer* of this realm will die at his country-houſe: on the 19th an old *layman* of great fame for learning; and on the 23d an eminent goldſmith in *Lombard-ſtreet*. I could mention others, both at home and abroad, if I did not conſider ſuch events of very little uſe or inſtruction to the reader, or to the world.

As to public affairs: on the 7th of this month there will be an inſurrection in *Dauphine*, occaſioned by the oppreſſions of the people, which will not be quieted in ſome months.

On the 15th will be a violent ſtorm on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt of *France*, which will deſtroy many of their ſhips, and ſome in the very harbour.

The 19th will be famous for the revolt of a whole province or kingdom, except one city, by which the affairs of a certain prince in the alliance will take a better face.

May, againſt common conjectures, will be no very buſy month in *Europe*, but very ſignal for the death of the *Dauphin*, which will happen on the 7th, after a ſhort fit of ſickneſs, and grievous torments with the ſtrangury. He dies leſs lamented by the court than the kingdom.

On the 9th a *mareſchal* of *France* will break his leg by a fall from his horſe. I have not been able to diſcover whether he will then die or not.

On the 11th will begin a moſt important ſiege, which the eyes of all *Europe* will be upon: I cannot be more particular: for in relating affairs, that ſo nearly concern the *confederates*, and conſequently this kingdom, I am forced to confine myſelf, for ſeveral reaſons very obvious to the reader.

On the 15th news will arrive of a very *ſurpriſing event*, than which nothing could be more unexpected.

On the 19th three noble ladies of this kingdom will, againſt all expectation, prove with child, to the great joy of their huſbands.

On the 23d a famous buffoon of the playhouſe will die a ridiculous death ſuitable to his vocation.

June. This month will be diſtinguiſhed at home, by the utter diſperſing of thoſe ridiculous deluded enthuſiaſts, commonly called the *prophets*; occaſioned chiefly by ſeeing the time come, when many of their prophecies ſhould be fulfilled, and then finding themſelves deceived by contrary events. It is indeed to be admired, how any deceiver can be ſo weak to foretel things near at hand, when a few months muſt of neceſſity diſcover the impoſture to all the world; in this point leſs prudent than common almanack-makers, who are ſo wiſe to wander in generals, and talk dubiouſly,

dubiouſly, and leave to the reader the buſineſs of interpreting.

On the 1ſt of this month a *french* general will be killed by a random ſhot of a cannon-ball.

On the 6th a fire will break out in the ſuburbs of *Paris*, which will deſtroy above a thouſand houſes, and ſeems to be the forebeding of what will happen to the ſurpriſe of all *Europe*, about the end of the following month.

On the 10th a great battle will be fought, which will begin at four of the clock in the afternoon; and laſt till nine at night with great obſtinacy, but no very deciſive event. I ſhall not name the place for the reaſons aforeſaid; but the commanders on each left wing will be killed.—I ſee bonfires, and hear the noiſe of guns for a victory.

On the 14th there will be a falſe report of the *french* king's death.

On the 20th cardinal *Portocarrero* will die of a dyſentery, with great ſuſpicion of poiſon; but the report of his intention to revolt to king *Charles* will prove falſe.

July, The 6th of this month a *certain general* will, by a glorious action, recover the reputation he loſt by former misfortunes.

On the 12th a *great commander* will die a priſoner in the hands of his enemies.

On the 14th a ſhameful diſcovery will be made of a *french* jeſuit, giving poiſon to a great foreign general; and, when he is put to

the torture, he will make wonderful diſcoveries.

In ſhort this will prove a month of great action, if I might have liberty to relate the particulars.

At home, the death of an old famous ſenator will happen on the 15th at his country-houſe, worn with age and diſeaſes.

But that which will make this month memorable to all poſterity, is the death of the *french* king, *Lewis* the fourteenth, after a week's ſickneſs at *Marli*, which will happen on the 29th, about ſix o'clock in the evening. It ſeems to be an effect of the gout in his ſtomach, followed by a flux. And in three days after monſieur *Chamillard* will follow his maſter, dying ſuddenly of an apoplexy.

In this month likewiſe an *ambaſſador* will die in *London*; but I cannot aſſign the day.

Auguſt. The affairs of *France* will ſeem to ſuffer no change for a while under the duke of *Burgundy*'s adminiſtration; but the genius that animated the whole machine being gone, will be the cauſe of mighty turns and revolutions in the following year. The new king makes yet little change either in the army or the miniſtry; but the libels againſt his grandfather, that fly about his very court, give him uneaſineſs.

I ſee an expreſs in mighty haſte, with joy and wonder in his looks, arriving by break of day on the 26th of this month, having travelled in three days a prodigious journey by

by land and ſea. In the evening I hear bel and guns, and ſee the blazing of a thouſan bonfires.

A young admiral of noble birth does like wiſe this month gain immortal honour by great atchievement.

The affairs of *Poland* are this month in tirely ſettled: *Auguſtus* reſigns his pretenſion which he had again taken up for ſome time *Staniſlaus* is peaceably poſſeſſed of the throne and the king of *Sweden* declares for the em peror.

I cannot omit one particular accident a home; that near the end of this month muc miſchief will be done at *Bartholomew* fair, b the fall of a booth.

September. This month begins with a ver ſurpriſing fit of froſty weather, which wi laſt near twelve days.

The pope, having long languiſhed la month, the ſwelling in his legs breaking, an the fleſh mortifying, will die on the 11th in ſtant: and in three weeks time, after a migh ty conteſt, be ſucceeded by a cardinal of th *imperial* faction, but a native of *Tuſcany*, wh is now about ſixty years old.

The *French* army acts now wholly on th defenſive, ſtrongly fortified in their trenches and the young *french* king ſends overture for a treaty of peace by the duke of *Mantua* which, becauſe it is a matter of ſtate that con cerns us here at home, I ſhall ſpeak no far ther of;

I ſhall add but one prediction more, and that in myſtical terms, which ſhall be included in a verſe out of *Virgil*:

Alter erit jam Tiphys, et altera quæ vehat Argo
Delectos Heroas.

Upon the 25th day of this month, the fulfilling of this prediction will be manifeſt to every body.

This is the fartheſt I have proceeded in my calculations for the preſent year. I do not pretend, that theſe are all the great events, which will happen in this period, but that thoſe I have ſet down will infallibly come to paſs. It will perhaps be ſtill objected, why I have not ſpoke more particularly of affairs at home, or of the ſucceſs of our armies abroad, which I might, and could very largely have done; but thoſe in power have wiſely diſcouraged men from meddling in public concerns, and I was reſolved by no means to give the leaſt offence. This I will venture to ſay, that it will be a glorious campaign for the *allies*, wherein the *engliſh* forces, both by ſea and land, will have their full ſhare of honour: that her majeſty queen *ANNE* will continue in health and proſperity: and that no ill accident will arrive to any in the chief miniſtry.

As to the particular events I have mentioned, the readers may judge by the fulfilling of them, whether I am on the level with com-

mon

mon aſtrologers; who, with an old paultry cant, and a few pothooks for planets, to amuſe the vulgar, have, in my opinion, too long been ſuffered to abuſe the world: but an honeſt phyſician ought not to be deſpiſed, becauſe there are ſuch things as mountebanks. I hope I have ſome ſhare of reputation, which I would not willingly forfeit for a frolic or humour: and I believe no gentleman, who reads this paper, will look upon it to be of the ſame caſt or mould with the common ſcribblers that are every day hawked about. My fortune hath placed me above the little regard of writing for a few pence, which I neither value or want: therefore let not wiſe men too haſtily condemn this eſſay, intended for a good deſign, to cultivate and improve an ancient art, long in diſgrace by having fallen into mean and unſkilful hands. A little time will determine whether I have deceived others or myſelf: and I think it is no very unreaſonable requeſt, that men would pleaſe to ſuſpend their judgments till then. I was once of the opinion with thoſe, who deſpiſe all predictions from the ſtars, till, the year 1686, a man of quality ſhewed me written in his *album* *, that the moſt learned aſtronomer, captain *Halley*, aſſured him, he would never

* *Album*, is the name of a paper book, in which it was uſual for a man's friends to write down a ſentence with their names, to keep them in his remembrance; it is ſtill common in ſome of the foreign univerſities.

never believe any thing of the ſtars influence, if there were not a great revolution in *England* in the year 1688. Since that time I began to have other thoughts, and, after eighteen years diligent ſtudy and application, I think I have no reaſon to repent of my pains. I ſhall detain the reader no longer, than to let him know that the account I deſign to give of next year's events, ſhall take in the principal affairs that happen in *Europe*; and, if I be denied the liberty of offering it to my own country, I ſhall appeal to the learned world, by publiſhing it in *Latin*, and giving order to have it printed in *Holland*.

THE

THE ACCOMPLISHMENT

Of the Firſt of

Mr. *Bickerſtaff*'s Predictions;

BEING AN

ACCOUNT

Of the Death of

Mr. *Partridge*, the ALMANACK-MAKER,

Upon the 29th Inſtant.

In a Letter to a Perſon of Honour.

Written in the Year 1708.

MY LORD,

IN obedience to your lordſhip's commands, as well as to ſatisfy my own curioſity, I have ſome days paſt inquired conſtantly after *Partridge* the almanack-maker, of whom it was foretold in Mr. *Bickerſtaff*'s predictions, publiſhed about a month ago, that he ſhould die the 29th inſtant about eleven at night, of a raging fever. I had ſome ſort of knowledge of him, when I was employed in the revenue, becauſe he uſed every year to pre-

ſent me with his almanack, as he did other gentlemen, upon the ſcore of ſome little gratuity we gave him. I ſaw him accidentally once or twice about ten days before he died, and obſerved he began very much too droop and languiſh, though, I hear, his friends did not ſeem to apprehend him in any danger. About two or three days ago he grew ill, was confined firſt to his chamber, and in a few hours after to his bed, where * Dr. *Caſe* and Mrs. *Kirleus* were ſent for to viſit, and to preſcribe to him. Upon this intelligence I ſent thrice every day one ſervant or other to inquire after his health; and, yeſterday about four in the afternoon, word was brought me, that he was paſt hopes: upon which I prevailed with myſelf to go and ſee him, partly out of commiſeration, and, I confeſs, partly out of curioſity. He knew me very well, ſeemed ſurpriſed at my condeſcenſion, and made me compliments upon it, as well as he could in the condition he was. The people about him ſaid, he had been for ſome time delirious; but, when I ſaw him, he had his underſtanding as well as ever I knew, and ſpoke ſtrong and hearty, without any ſeeming uneaſineſs or conſtraint. After I had told him how ſorry I was to ſee him in thoſe melancholy circumſtances, and ſaid ſome other civilities, ſuitable to the occaſion, I deſired him to tell me freely and ingenuouſly whether the predictions Mr. *Bickerſtaff* had published

* Two famous quacks at that time.

liſhed relating to his death, had not too much affected and worked on his imagination. He confeſſed, he had often had it in his head, but never with much apprehenſion, till about a fortnight before; ſince which time it had the perpetual poſſeſſion of his mind and thoughts, and he did verily believe was the true natural cauſe of his preſent diſtemper; for, ſaid he, I am thoroughly perſuaded, and I think I have very good reaſons, that Mr. *Bickerſtaff* ſpoke altogether by gueſs, and knew no more what will happen this year, than I did myſelf. I told him his diſcourſe ſurpriſed me; and I would be glad, he were in a ſtate of health to be able to tell me, what reaſon he had to be convinced of Mr. *Bickerſtaff*'s ignorance. He replied, I am a poor ignorant fellow, bred to a mean trade, yet I have ſenſe enough to know, that all pretences of foretelling by aſtrology are deceits, for this manifeſt reaſon, becauſe the wiſe and learned, who can only judge whether there be any truth in this ſcience, do all unanimouſly agree to laugh and deſpiſe it; and none but the poor ignorant vulgar give it any credit, and that only upon the word of ſuch poor ſilly wretches as I and my fellows, who can hardly write or read. I then aſked him, why he had not calculated his own nativity, to ſee whether it agreed with Mr. *Bickerſtaff*'s prediction? at which he ſhook his head, and ſaid, oh! ſir, this is no time for jeſting, but for repenting thoſe fooleries, as I do now from the very bottom of my heart. By what I can

gather

gather from you, ſaid I, the obſervations and predictions you printed with your almanacks, were mere impoſitions on the people. He replied, if it were otherwiſe, I ſhould have the leſs to anſwer for. We have a common form for all thoſe things; as to foretelling the weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the printer, who takes it out of any old almanack, as he thinks fit; the reſt was my own invention to make my almanack ſell; having a wife to maintain, and no other way to get my bread; for mending old ſhoes is a poor livelihood and (added he, ſighing) I wiſh I may not have done more miſchief by my phyſic than by my aſtrology; though I had ſome good receipts from my grandmother, and my own compoſitions were ſuch, as I thought could at leaſt do no hurt.

I had ſome other diſcourſe with him, which now I cannot call to mind; and I fear I have already tired your lordſhip. I ſhall only add one circumſtance, that on his death-bed he declared himſelf a nonconformiſt, and had a fanatic preacher to be his ſpiritual guide. After half on hour's converſation I took my leave, being almoſt ſtifled by the cloſeneſs of the room. I imagined he could not hold out long, and therefore withdrew to a little coffee-houſe hard by, leaving a ſervant in the houſe with orders to come immediately, and tell me, as near as he could, the minute when *Partridge* ſhould expire, which was not above two hours after; when, looking upon my watch, I found it to be above five minutes

after

after ſeven; by which it is clear that Mr. *Bickerſtaff* was miſtaken almoſt four hours in his calculation. In the other circumſtances he was exact enough. But whether he hath not been the cauſe of this poor man's death, as well as the predictor, may be very reaſonably diſputed. However it muſt be confeſſed, the matter is odd enough, whether we ſhall endeavour to account for it by chance, or the effect of imagination: for my own part, though I believe no man hath leſs faith in theſe matters, yet I ſhall wait with ſome impatience, and not without ſome expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. *Bickerſtaff*'s ſecond prediction, that the cardinal *de Noailles* is to die upon the fourth of *April*, and, if that ſhould be verified as exactly as this of poor *Partridge*, I muſt own I ſhould be wholly ſurpriſed, and at a loſs, and ſhould infallibly expect the accompliſhment of all the reſt.

This piece being on the same subject, and v
rare, *we have thought fit to add it, tho*
not written by the same hand.

N. B. In the *Dublin* edition it is said to
written by the late *N. Rowe*, Esq; wh
is a mistake: for the reverend Dr. *Yal*
preacher of *Bridewell*, Mr. *Partridge*'s
neighbour, drew it up for him.

'Squire *BICKERSTAFF* Detect

OR, THE

Astrological IMPOSTOR Convicted

BY

JOHN PARTRIDG

Student in Physic and Astrology.

IT is hard, my dear countrymen of th
united nations, it is very hard, tha
Briton born, a protestant astrologer, a r
of revolution principles, an assertor of the
berty and property of the people, should
out in vain for justice against a *Frenchman*
papist, and an illiterate pretender to scien
that would blast my reputation, most in
manly bury me alive, and defraud my na
country of those services, which, in my d
ble capacity, I daily offer the public.

What great provocations I have received, let the impartial reader judge, and how unwillingly, even in my own defence, I now enter the lists againſt falſehood, ignorance, and envy: but I am exaſperated, at length, to drag out this *Cacus* * from the den of obſcurity where he lurks, detect him by the light of thoſe ſtars he has ſo impudently traduced, and ſhew there is not a monſter in the ſkies ſo pernicious and malevolent to mankind, as an ignorant pretender to phyſic and aſtrology. I ſhall not directly fall on the many groſs errors, nor expoſe the notorious abſurdities of this proſtituted libeller, till I have let the learned world fairly into the controverſy depending, and then leave the unprejudiced to judge of the merits and juſtice of my cauſe.

It was towards the concluſion of the year 1707, when an impudent pamphlet crept into the world, intitled, *predictions*, &c. *by* Iſaac Bickerſtaff, *eſq*;——Amongſt the many arrogant aſſertions laid down by that lying ſpirit of divination, he was pleaſed to pitch on the cardinal *de Noailles* and myſelf, among many other eminent and illuſtrious perſons, that were to die within the compaſs of the enſuing year; and peremptorily fixes the month, day, and hour of our deaths: this, I think, is ſporting with great men, and public ſpirits, to the ſcandal of religion, and reproach of power; and if ſovereign princes and aſtrologers muſt make diverſion for the vulgar——

* *A thief* ſeized in a cavern by Hercules.

why then farewel, ſay I, to all government ecclesiaſtical and civil. But, I thank my be ter ſtars, I am alive to confront this falſe an audacious predictor, and to make him rue th hour he ever affronted a man of ſcience an reſentment. The cardinal may take wh meaſures he pleaſes with him; as his exce lency is a foreigner, and a papiſt, he has n reaſon to rely upon me for his juſtification; ſhall only aſſure the world he is alive——bu as he was bred to letters, and is maſter of pen, let him uſe it in his own defence. I the mean time I ſhall preſent the public wit a faithful narrative of the ungenerous treat ment and hard uſage I have received from th virulent papers and malicious practices of thi pretended aſtrologer.

A true and impartial account of the proceeding of Iſaac Bickerſtaff, *eſq; againſt me.*

The 28th of *March*, *anno Dom.* 1708, be ing the night this ſham-prophet had ſo impu dently fixed for my laſt, which made littl impreſſion on myſelf; but I cannot anſwe for my whole family; for my wife, with concern more than uſual, prevailed on me t take ſomewhat to ſweat for a cold; and, be tween the hours of eight and nine, to go t bed: the maid, as ſhe was warming my bed with a curioſity natural to young wenche runs to the window, and aſks of one paſſin the ſtreet, who the bell tolled for? Dr. *Par tridge*, ſays he, the famous almanac-maker

wh

who died ſuddenly this evening: the poor girl provoked told him, he lyed like a raſcal; the other very ſedately replied, the ſexton had ſo informed him, and, if falſe, he was to blame for impoſing upon a ſtranger. She aſked a ſecond, and a third, as they paſſed, and every one was in the ſame tone. Now, I do not ſay theſe are accomplices to a certain aſtrological 'ſquire, and that one *Bickerſtaff* might be ſauntring thereabouts; becauſe I will aſſert nothing here, but what I dare atteſt, for plain matter of fact. My wife at this fell into a violent diſorder; and I muſt own I was a little diſcompoſed at the oddneſs of the accident. In the mean time one knocks at my door; *Betty* runs down, and, opening, finds a ſober grave perſon, who modeſtly inquires, if this was Dr. *Partridge*'s? ſhe taking him for ſome cautious city-patient, that came at that time for privacy, ſhews him into the dining-room. As ſoon as I could compoſe myſelf, I went to him, and was ſurpriſed to find my gentleman mounted on a table with a two-foot rule in his hand, meaſuring my walls, and taking the dimenſions of the room. Pray, ſir, ſays I, not to interrupt you, have you any buſineſs with me? only, Sir, replies he, order the girl to bring me a better light, for this is but a very dim one. Sir, ſays I, my name is *Partridge*: oh! the doctor's brother, belike, cries he; the ſtaircaſe, I believe, and theſe two apartments hung in cloſe mourning, will be ſufficient, and only a ſtrip of bays round the other rooms.

was deſcended from the blood-royal.
that I aſſumed a great air of authorit
demanded who employed him, or h
came there? Why, I was ſent, ſir,
company of undertakers, ſays he, an
were employed by the honeſt gentleman
is executor to the good doctor dep
and our raſcally porter, I believe, is
faſt aſleep with the black cloth and ſ
or he had been here, and we might ha
tacking up by this time. Sir, ſays I
be adviſed by a friend, and make the
your ſpeed out of my doors, for I h
wife's voice, (which, by the by, is
quiſſable) and in that corner of the
ſtands a good cudgel, which ſomebo
felt before now; if that light in her
and ſhe know the buſineſs you come
without conſulting the ſtars, I can
you it will be employed very much

he that puts things and things fairly together, will not be much wide of the mark.

Well, once more I got my doors closed, and prepared for bed, in hopes of a little repose after so many ruffling adventures; just as I was putting out my light in order to it, another bounces as hard as he can knock; I open the window, and ask who is there, and what he wants? I am *Ned* the *sexton*, replies he, and come to know whether the doctor left any orders for a funeral sermon, and where he is to be laid, and whether his grave is to be plain or bricked! Why, sirrah, says I, you know me well enough; you know I am not dead, and how dare you affront me after this manner? Alack-a-day, sir, replies the fellow, why it is in print, and the whole town knows you are dead; why there is Mr. *White* the joiner is but fitting screws to your coffin, he will be here with it in an instant: he was afraid you would have wanted it before this time. Sirrah, sirrah, says I, you shall know to-morrow to your cost, that I am alive, and alive like to be. Why, it is strange, sir, says he, you should make such a secret of your death to us that are your neighbours; it looks as if you had a design to defraud the church of its dues; and let me tell you, for one that has lived so long by the heavens, that is unhandsomely done. Hist, hist, says another rogue that stood by him; away, doctor, into your flannel gear as fast as you can, for here is a whole pack of dismals coming to you with their black equi-

page, and how indecent will it look for you to ſtand frightening folks at your window, when you ſhould have been in your coffin this three hours? In ſhort, what with undertakers, imbalmers, joiners, ſextons, and your damned elegy-hawkers upon a late practitioner in phyſic and aſtrology, I got not one wink of ſleep that night, nor ſcarce a moment's reſt ever ſince. Now I doubt not, but this villainous 'ſquire has the impudence to aſſert, that theſe are intirely ſtrangers to him; he, good man, knows nothing of the matter, and honeſt *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, I warrant you, is more a man of honour, than to be an accomplice with a pack of raſcals, that walk the ſtreets on nights, and diſturb good people in their beds; but he is out, if he thinks the whole world is blind; for there is one *John Partridge* can ſmell a knave as far as *Grubſtreet*,——although he lies in the moſt exalted garret, and writes himſelf 'ſquire: —but I will keep my temper, and proceed in the narration.

I could not ſtir out of doors for the ſpace of three months after this, but preſently one comes up to me in the ſtreet: Mr. *Partridge*, that coffin you was laſt buried in I have not been yet paid for: doctor, cries another dog, how do you think people can live by making of graves for nothing? next time you die, you may even toll out the bell yourſelf for *Ned*. A third rogue tips me by the elbow, and wonders how I have the conſcience to ſneak abroad without paying my funeral expences.

pences. Lord, ſays one, I durſt have ſwore that was honeſt Dr. *Partridge*, my old friend; but poor man, he is gone. I beg your pardon, ſays another, you look ſo like my old acquaintance, that I uſed to conſult on ſome private occaſions; but, alack, he is gone the way of all fleſh.——Look, look, look, cries a third, after a competent ſpace of ſtaring at me, would not one think our neighbour the almanac-maker was crept out of his grave to take the other peep at the ſtars in this world, and ſhew how much he is improved in fortune-telling by having taken a journey to the other?

Nay, the very reader of our pariſh, a good, ſober, diſcreet perſon, has ſent two or three times for me to come and be buried decently, or ſend him ſufficient reaſon to the contrary, or, if I have been interred in any other pariſh, to produce my certificate, as the act * requires. My poor wife is almoſt run diſtracted with being called widow *Partridge*, when ſhe knows it is falſe; and once a term ſhe is cited into the court to take out letters of adminiſtration. But the greateſt grievance is, a paultry quack, that takes up my calling juſt under my noſe, and in his printed directions with *N. B.* — ſays, he lives in the houſe

* The ſtatute of 30 *Car.* II. for burying in woollen requires, that oath ſhall be made of the compliance with this act, and a certificate thereof lodged with the miniſter of the pariſh within eight days after interment.

of the late ingenious Mr. *John Partridge*, an eminent practitioner in leather, phyſic, and aſtrology.

But, to ſhew how far the wicked ſpirit of envy, malice, and reſentment can hurry ſome men, my nameleſs old perſecutor had provided me a monument at the ſtone-cutter's, and would have erected it in the pariſh-church; and this piece of notorious and expenſive villainy had actually ſucceeded, if I had not uſed my utmoſt intereſt with the veſtry, where it was carried at laſt but by two voices, that I am alive. That ſtratagem failing, out comes a long ſable elegy, bedecked with hour-glaſſes, mattocks, ſculls, ſpades, and ſkeletons, with an epitaph as confidently written to abuſe me, and my profeſſion, as if I had been under ground theſe twenty years.

And, after ſuch barbarous treatment as this, can the world blame me, when I aſk, what is become of the freedom of an *Engliſhman?* and where is liberty and property, that my *old gracious friend* came over to aſſert? we have drove popery out of the nation, and ſent ſlavery to foreign climes. The arts only remain in bondage, when a man of conſcience and character ſhall be openly inſulted in the midſt of the many uſeful ſervices he is daily paying the public. Was it ever heard, even in *Turkey* or *Algiers*, that a ſtate-aſtrologer was bantered out of his life by an ignorant impoſtor, or bawled out of the world by a pack of villainous deep-mouthed hawkers? though I print almanacs, and publiſh adver-

tiſe-

tiſements; though I produce certificates under the miniſters and church-wardens hands I am alive, and atteſt the ſame on oath at quarter-ſeſſions, out comes a full and true relation of the death and interment of *John Partridge*; truth is bore down, atteſtations neglected, the teſtimony of ſober perſons deſpiſed, and a man is looked upon by his neighbours as if he had been ſeven years dead, and is buried alive in the midſt of his friends and acquaintance.

Now can any man of common ſenſe think it conſiſtent with the honour of my profeſſion, and not much beneath the dignity of a philoſopher, to ſtand bawling before his own door? —alive! alive ho! the famous Dr. *Partridge!* no counterfeit, but all alive!—as if I had the twelve celeſtial monſters of the *zodiac* to ſhew within, or was forced for a livelihood to turn retailer to *May* and *Bartholomew* fairs. Therefore, if her majeſty would but graciouſly be pleaſed to think a hardſhip of this nature worthy her royal conſideration, and the next parliament, in their great wiſdom, caſt but an eye towards the deplorable caſe of their old *philomath*, that annually beſtows his poetical good wiſhes on them, I am ſure there is one *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, eſq; would ſoon be truſſed up for his bloody predictions, and putting good ſubjects in terror of their lives: and that henceforward to murder a man by way of prophecy, and bury him in printed letters, either to a lord or commoner, ſhall as legally intitle him to the preſent poſſeſſion of Tyburn,

as if he robbed on the highway, or cut your throat in bed.

I ſhall demonſtrate to the judicious, that *France* and *Rome* are at the bottom of this horrid conſpiracy againſt me; and that *Culprit* aforeſaid is a popiſh emiſſary, has paid his viſits to St. *Germains*, and is now in the meaſures of *Lewis* XIV. That, in attempting my reputation, there is a general maſſacre of learning deſigned in theſe realms; and thro' my ſides there is a wound given to all the proteſtant almanac-makers in the univerſe.

Vivat Regina.

A VIN-

A

VINDICATION

OF

ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Eſq;

AGAINST

What is objected to him by Mr. *Partridge* in his almanac for the preſent year 1709.

By the ſaid ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Eſq;

Written in the Year 1709.

MR. *Partridge* hath been lately pleaſed to treat me after a very rough manner, *in that which is called*, his almanac for the preſent year: ſuch uſage is very undecent from *one gentleman to another*, and doth not at all contribute to the diſcovery of truth, which ought to be the great end in all diſputes of the *learned*. To call a man *fool* and *villain*, and *impudent fellow*, only for differing from him in a point merely ſpeculative, is, in my humble opinion, a very improper ſtyle for a perſon of *his education*. I appeal to the *learned world*, whether in my laſt year's predictions I gave him the leaſt provocation for ſuch unworthy treatment. Philoſophers have differed in all ages; but the diſcreeteſt

among them have always differed as became philoſophers. Scurrility and paſſion, in a controverſy among *ſcholars*, is juſt ſo much of nothing to the purpoſe, and, at beſt, a tacit confeſſion of a weak cauſe: my concern is not ſo much for my own reputation, as that of the *republic of letters*, which Mr. *Partridge* hath endeavoured to wound through my ſides. If men of public ſpirit muſt be ſuperciliouſly treated for their ingenious attempts, how will true uſeful knowledge be ever advanced? I wiſh Mr. *Partridge* knew the thoughts, which *foreign univerſities* have conceived of his ungenerous proceedings with me; but I am too tender of his reputation to publiſh them to the world. That ſpirit of envy and pride, which blaſts ſo many riſing genius's in our nation, is yet unknown among *profeſſors* abroad: the neceſſity of juſtifying myſelf will excuſe my vanity, when I tell the reader, that I have near a hundred *honorary* letters from ſeveral parts of *Europe* (ſome as far as *Muſcovy*) in praiſe of my performance. Beſides ſeveral others, which, as I have been credibly informed, were opened in the poſt-office, and never ſent me. It is true the *inquiſition* in *Portugal* was * pleaſed to burn my predictions, and condemn the author and readers of them; but I hope, at the ſame time, it will be conſidered, in how deplorable a ſtate *learning* lies at preſent in that kingdom: and, with the profoundeſt

* *This is fact*, as the author was aſſured by Sir *Paul Methuen*, then ambaſſador to that crown.

foundeſt veneration for *crowned heads*, I will preſume to add, that it a little concerned *his majeſty of Portugal* to interpoſe his authority in behalf of a *ſcholar* and a *gentleman*, the ſubject of a nation, with which he is now in ſo ſtrict an alliance. But the other kingdoms and ſtates of *Europe* have treated me with more candour and generoſity. If I had leave to print the *Latin* letters tranſmitted to me from foreign parts, they would fill a volume, and be a full defence againſt all that Mr. *Partridge*, or his accomplices of the *Portugal inquiſition*, will be ever able to object; who, by the way, are the only enemies my predictions have ever met with at home or abroad. But I hope I know better what is due to the honour of a *learned correſpondence* in ſo tender a point. Yet ſome of thoſe illuſtrious perſons will perhaps excuſe me for tranſcribing a paſſage or two in my vindication *. The moſt learned monſieur *Leibnits* thus addreſſes to me his third letter: *illuſtriſſimo Bickerſtaffio aſtrologiæ inſtauratori*, &c. Monſieur *le Clerc*, quoting my predictions in a treatiſe he publiſhed laſt year, is pleaſed to ſay, *ita mirifice Bickerſtaffius magnum illud Angliæ ſidus*. Another great profeſſor, writing of me, has theſe words: *Bickerſtaffius, nobilis Anglus Aſtrologorum hujuſce ſeculi facile princeps*. Signior *Magliabecchi*, the *great duke*'s famous library-keeper,

* The quotations here inſerted are an imitation of Dr. *Bentley*, in ſome part of the famous controverſy between him and Mr. Boyle.

55, he ſeems to lay the error upon the
(as indeed it ought) and ſays, *vel ſu*
ror typographi, cum alioquin Bickerſtaf
doctiſſimus, &c.

If Mr. *Partridge* had followed theſe
ples in the controverſy between us, he
have ſpared me the trouble of juſtifyi
ſelf in ſo public a manner. I believe
is readier to own his errors than I, c
thankful to thoſe, who will pleaſe to
him of them. But it ſeems this gen
inſtead of encouraging the progreſs of
art, is pleaſed to look upon all atte
that kind as an invaſion of his provinc
hath been indeed ſo wiſe as to make
jection againſt the truth of my pred
except in one ſingle point relating to h
and, to demonſtrate how much men ar
ed by their own partiality, I do ſolem
ſure the reader, that he is the only

cardinal de Noailles *was ſtill alive, notwithſtanding the pretended prophecy of monſieur* Biquerſtaffe: but how far a *Frenchman*, a *papiſt*, and an *enemy* is to be believed in his own cauſe againſt an *Engliſh proteſtant*, who is *true to the government*, I ſhall leave to the candid and impartial reader.

The other objection is the unhappy occaſion of this diſcourſe, and relates to an article in my predictions, which foretold the death of Mr. *Partridge* to happen on *March* 29, 1708. This he is pleaſed to contradict abſolutely in the almanac he hath publiſhed for the preſent year, and in that ungentlemanly manner (pardon the expreſſion) as I have above related. In that work he very roundly aſſerts, that he *is not only now alive, but was likewiſe alive upon the* 29*th of* March, *when I had foretold he ſhould die.* This is the ſubject of the preſent controverſy between us; which I deſign to handle with all brevity, perſpicuity, and calmneſs: in this diſpute, I am ſenſible the eyes not only of *England*, but of all *Europe*, will be upon us; and the *learned* in every country will, I doubt not, take part on that ſide, where they find moſt appearance of reaſon and truth.

Without entering into criticiſms of *chronology* about the hour of his death, I ſhall only prove that Mr. *Partridge* is not alive. And my firſt argument is thus: above a thouſand gentlemen having bought his almanac for this year, merely to find what he ſaid againſt me; at every line they read, they would lift

up

up their eyes, and cry out, betwixt rage and laughter, *they were ſure no man alive ever writ ſuch damned ſtuff as this.* Neither did I ever hear that opinion diſputed: ſo that Mr. *Partridge* lies under a *dilemma*, either of diſowning his almanac, or allowing himſelf to be *no man alive*. But now if an *uninformed* carcaſe walks ſtill about, and is pleaſed to call itſelf *Partridge*, Mr. *Bickerſtaff* does not think himſelf any way anſwerable for that. Neither had the ſaid carcaſe any right to beat the poor boy, who happened to paſs by it in the ſtreet, crying, *a full and true account of Dr.* Partridge's *death*, &c.

Secondly, Mr. *Partridge* pretends to tell fortunes, and recover ſtolen goods; which, all the pariſh ſays, he muſt do by converſing with the devil and other evil ſpirits: and no wiſe man will ever allow, he could converſe perſonally with either, till after he was dead.

Thirdly, I will plainly prove him to be dead out of his own almanac for this year, and from the very paſſage which he produceth to make us think him alive. He there ſays, *he is not only now alive, but was alſo alive upon that very 29th of* March, *which I foretold he ſhould die on:* by this, he declares his opinion, that a man may be alive now, who was not alive a twelvemonth ago. And indeed, there lies the ſophiſtry of his argument. He dares not aſſert, he was alive ever ſince that 29th of *March*, but that he *is now alive, and was ſo on that day:* I grant the latter; for he did not die till night, as appears by the printed account

count of his death, in a *letter to a lord*; and, whether he be ſince revived, I leave the world to judge. This is indeed perfect cavilling, and I am aſhamed to dwell any longer upon it.

Fourthly, I will appeal to Mr. *Partridge* himſelf, whether it be probable I could have been ſo indiſcreet to begin my predictions with the *only* falſhood, that ever was pretended to be in them; and this is an affair at home, where I had ſo many opportunities to be exact; and muſt have given ſuch advantages againſt me to a perſon of Mr. *Partridge*'s wit and learning, who, if he could poſſibly have raiſed one ſingle objection more againſt the truth of my prophecies, would hardly have ſpared me.

And here I muſt take occaſion to reprove the abovementioned writer of the relation of Mr. *Partridge*'s death in a *letter to a lord*; who was pleaſed to tax me with a miſtake of *four whole hours* in my calculation of that event. I muſt confeſs, this cenſure pronounced with an air of certainty, in a matter that ſo nearly concerned me, and by a *grave judicious author*, moved me not a little. But, though I was at that time out of town, yet ſeveral of my friends, whoſe curioſity had let them to be exactly informed (for, as to my own part, having no doubt at all in the matter, I never once thought of it) aſſured me, I computed to ſomething under half an hour; which (I ſpeak my private opinion) is an error of no great magnitude, that men ſhould raiſe a clamour about it. I ſhall only ſay, it would

not be amiſs, if that author would henceforth be more tender of other mens reputation as well as his own. It is well known there were no more miſtakes of that kind; if there had, I preſume he would have told me of them with as little ceremony.

There is one objection againſt Mr. *Partridge*'s death, which I have ſometimes met with, though indeed very ſlightly offered, that he ſtill continues to write almanacs. But this is no more than what is common to all of that profeſſion; *Gadbury*, *poor Robin*, *Dove*, *Wing*, and ſeveral others do yearly publiſh their almanacs, though ſeveral of them have been dead ſince before the *revolution*. Now the natural reaſon of this I take to be, that whereas it is the privilege of other authors *to live after their deaths*; almanac-makers are alone excluded, becauſe their diſſertations, treating only upon the minutes as they paſs, become uſeleſs as thoſe go off. In conſideration of which, *time*, whoſe *regiſters* they are, gives them a leaſe in reverſion, to continue their works after their death.

I ſhould not have given the public or myſelf the trouble of this vindication, if my name had not been made uſe of by ſeveral perſons, to whom I never lent it; one of which, a few days ago, was pleaſed to father on me a new ſett of predictions. But I think theſe are things too ſerious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the heart, when I ſaw my labours, which had coſt me ſo much thought and watching, bawled about by common hawkers, which

I only

I only intended for the weighty conſideration of the graveſt perſons. This prejudiced the world ſo much at firſt, that ſeveral of my friends had the aſſurance to aſk me, whether I were in jeſt? to which I only anſwered coldly, *that the event would ſhew.* But it is the talent of our age and nation to turn things of the greateſt importance into ridicule. When the end of the year had *verified all my predictions*, out comes Mr. *Partridge*'s almanac, diſputing the point of his death; ſo that I am employed, like the general who was forced to kill his enemies twice over, whom a *necromancer* had raiſed to life. If Mr. *Partridge* hath practiſed the ſame experiment upon himſelf, and be again alive, long may he continue ſo; that doth not in the leaſt contradict my veracity: but I think I have clearly proved, by *invincible demonſtration*, that he died at fartheſt within half an hour of the time I foretold, and not four hours ſooner, as the abovementioned author, in his letter to a lord, hath maliciouſly ſuggeſted, with deſign to blaſt my credit by charging me with ſo groſs a miſtake.

A FA-

A

FAMOUS PREDICTION

OF

MERLIN

The *Britiſh* Wizard.

Written above a Thouſand Years ago, an relating to the Year 1709.

With explanatory Notes, by T. N. Philomath

LAST year was publiſhed a paper of pre dictions, pretended to be written by on *Iſaac Bickerſtaff*, eſq; but the true deſign o it was to diſcourage the art of aſtrology, an expoſe its profeſſors as ignorant or impoſtor Againſt this imputation Dr. *Partridge* hat learnedly vindicated himſelf in his almana for that year.

For a farther vindication of this famou art, I have thought fit to preſent the worl with the following prophecy. The origin is ſaid to be of the famous *Merlin*, who live about a thouſand years ago; and the follow ing tranſlation is two hundred years old, fo it ſeems to be written near the end of *Hen* the ſeventh's reign. I have found it in a old edition of *Merlin*'s prophecies, imprinte

at *London* by *John Hawkins* in the year 1530, *page* 39. I ſet it down word for word in the old orthography, and ſhall take leave to ſubjoin a few explanatory notes:

Seven and Ten addyd to Nine,
Of Fraunce her Woe this is the Sygne,
Tamy's Rivere twyns y-frozen,
Walke ſans wetyng Shoes ne Hozen.
Then comyth foorthe, Ich underſtonde,
From Towne of Stoffe to fattyn Londe,
An hardie Chyſtan, woe the Morne
To Fraunce that ever he was born.
Then ſhall the Fyſhe beweyle his Boſſe;
Nor ſhall grin Berrys make up the Loſſe.
Yonge Symnele ſhall again miſcarrye:
And Norways Pryd again ſhall marrey.
And from the Tree where Bloſums ſeele,
Ripe Fruit ſhall come, and all is wele,
Reaums ſhall daunce Honde in Honde,
And it ſhall be merrye in old Inglonde,
Then old Inglonde ſhall be no more,
And no Man ſhall be ſorie therefore,
Geryon ſhall have three Hedes agayne,
Till Hapſburge makyth them but twayne.

Explanatory Notes.

Seven and Ten. This line deſcribes the year when theſe events ſhall happen. Seven and ten makes ſeventeen, which I explain ſeventeen hundred, and this number added to nine, makes the year we are now in; for it muſt be underſtood of the natural year, which begins the firſt of *January*.

Tamys

Tamys Rivere twys, &c. The river frozen twice in one year, ſo as men on it, is a very ſignal accident, which hath not fallen out for ſeveral hundre before, and is the reaſon why ſome gers have thought, that this prophe never be fulfilled, becauſe they imagi a thing would never happen in our cli

From Town of Stoffe, &c. This is deſignation of the duke of *Marlboro* kind of ſtuff uſed to fatten land is calle and every body knows that *Borough* i for a town; and this way of expreſſi ter the uſual dark manner of old aſt predictions.

Then ſhall the Fyſhe, &c. By the *fiſ* derſtood the *dauphin* of *France*, as th eldeſt ſons are called: it is here ſaid, lament the loſs of the duke of *Burgun* ed the *Boſſe*, which is an old *engliſh* *bump-ſhoulder*, or *crook-back*, as that known to be; and the prophecy mean, that he ſhould be overcome By the *green berrys*, in the next line, the young duke of *Berry*, the *dauphi* ſon, who ſhall not have valour or fo nough to ſupply the loſs of his eldeſt

Youge Symnele, &c. By *Symnele* is n pretended prince of *Wales*, who, if he attempt any thing againſt *England*, f carry as he did before. *Lambert S* *the* name of a young man, noted in

tories for perſonating the ſon (as I remember) of *Edward* the fourth.

And Norway's Pryd, &c. I cannot gueſs * who is meant by *Norway's pride*, perhaps the reader may, as well as the ſenſe of the two following lines.

Reaums ſhall, &c. *Reaums*, or, as the word is now, *realms*, is the old name for *kingdoms*: and this is a very plain prediction of our happy *union*, with the felicities that ſhall attend it. It is added that *Old England* ſhall be no more, and yet no man ſhall be ſorry for it. And indeed, properly ſpeaking, *England* is now no more, for the whole iſland is one kingdom under the name of *Britain*.

Geryon ſhall, &c. This prediction, though ſomewhat obſcure, is wonderfully adapt. *Geryon* is ſaid to have been a king of *Spain*, whom *Hercules* ſlew. It was a fiction of the poets, that he had three heads, which the author ſays he ſhall have again: that is, *Spain* ſhall have three kings; which is now wonderfully verified; for, beſides the king of *Portugal*, which is properly part of *Spain*, there are now two rivals for *Spain*, *Charles* and *Philip*: but *Charles*, being deſcended from the count of *Hapſburgh*, founder of the *Auſtrian* family, ſhall ſoon make thoſe heads but two by overturning *Philip*, and driving him out of *Spain*.

Some of theſe predictions are already fulfilled, and it is highly probable the reſt may

* Queen *Anne*.

be in due time: and I think I have
ced the words by my explication into
ſenſe, than what they will naturally bea
be granted, I am ſure it muſt be alſo
that the author (whoever he were) w
ſon of extraordinary ſagacity; and th
logy brought to ſuch perfection as t
no means an art to be deſpiſed, what
Bickerſtaff, or other merry gentlemen
ed to think. As to the tradition of th
having been writ in the original by
confeſs I lay not much weight upon
it is enough to juſtify their author
the book from whence I have tranſcrib
was printed 170 years ago, as appea
title-page. For the ſatisfaction of a
tleman, who may be either doubtfu
truth, or curious to be informed; I
order to have the very book ſent to
ter of this paper, with directions to
body ſee it that pleaſes, becauſe I h
is pretty ſcarce.

A MEDITATION UPON A BROOM-STICK.

According to the ſtyle and manner of the honourable *Robert Boyle*'s Meditations *.

THIS ſingle ſtick, which you now behold ingloriouſly lying in that neglected corner, I once knew in a flouriſhing ſtate in a foreſt: it was full of ſap, full of leaves, and full of boughs: but now in vain does the buſy art of man pretend to vye with nature, by tying that withered bundle of twigs to its ſapleſs trunk: it is now at beſt but the reverſe of what it was, a tree turned upſide down, the branches on the earth, and the root in the air; it is now handled by every dirty wench, condemned to do her drudgery, and, by a capricious kind of fate, deſtined to make her things clean, and be naſty itſelf;

* The ſword of wit like the ſcythe of time cuts down friend and foe, and attacks every object that accidentally lies in its way: but, ſharp and *irreſiſtible* as the edge of it may be, Mr. *Boyle* will always remain *invulnerable*. ORRERY.

at length worn out to the ſtump
vice of the maids, it is either th
doors, or condemned to the laſt
ling a fire. When I beheld th
and ſaid within myſelf, *Surely m*
a Broom-ſtick! nature ſent him i
ſtrong and luſty, in a thrivin
wearing his own hair on his he
per branches of this reaſoning ve
til the axe of intemperance ha
his green boughs, and left hi
trunk: he then flies to art, a
perriwig, valuing himſelf upon
bundle of hairs, all covered
that never grew on his head; bu
this our *broom-ſtick* pretend to en
proud of thoſe *birchen* ſpoils i
and all covered with duſt, thou
ings of the fineſt lady's chambe
be apt to ridicule and deſpiſe its
tial judges that we are of our
cies, and other men's defaults!

But a *broom-ſtick*, perhaps yo
an emblem of a tree ſtanding
and pray what is man, but a
creature, his animal faculties
mounted on his rational, his h
heels ſhould be, groveling on t
yet, with all his faults, he ſets
univerſal reformer and correcto
remover of grievances, rakes in
corner of nature, bringing hidd
to the light, and raiſes a migh

there was none before, ſharing deeply all the while in the very ſame pollutions he pretends to ſweep away: his laſt days are ſpent in ſlavery to women, and generally the leaſt deſerving; till worn to the ſtumps, like his brother *beeſom*, he is either kicked out of doors, or made uſe of to kindle flames for others to warm themſelves by.

A

PROPOSAL

For correcting, improving, and aſcertaining the

ENGLISH TONGUE.

In a letter to the moſt honourable *Robert* earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, lord high treaſurer of *Great Britain*.

To the moſt honourable Robert *earl of* Oxford, *etc.*

My Lord,

WHAT I had the honour of mentioning to your lordſhip ſome time ago in converſation, was not a new thought, juſt then ſtarted by accident or occaſion, but the reſult of long reflection, and I have been confirmed in my ſentiments by the opinion of ſome very judicious perſons, with whom I conſulted. They all agreed, that nothing would be of greater uſe towards the improvement of knowledge and politeneſs, than ſome effectual method for *correcting*, *enlarging*, and *aſcertaining* our language; and they think it a work very poſſible to be compaſſed under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a miniſtry, and the care of proper perſons choſen for ſuch an undertaking. I was glad to find your lordſhip's anſwer

ſwer in ſo different a ſtyle, from what hath been commonly made uſe of on the like occaſions for ſome years paſt, *That all ſuch thoughts muſt be deferred to a time of peace*: a topic which ſome have carried ſo far, that they would not have us by any means think of preſerving our civil or religious conſtitution, becauſe we are engaged in a war abroad. It will be among the diſtinguiſhing marks of your miniſtry, my lord, that you have a genius above all ſuch regards, and that no reaſonable propoſal for the honour, the advantage, or the ornament of your country, however foreign to your more immediate office, was ever neglected by you. I confeſs the merit of this candour and condeſcenſion is very much leſſened, becauſe your lordſhip hardly leaves us room to offer our good wiſhes: removing all our difficulties, and ſupplying our wants, faſter than the viſionary projector can adjuſt his ſchemes. And therefore, my lord, the deſign of this paper is not ſo much to offer you *ways* and *means*, as to complain of a *grievance*, the redreſſing of which is to be your own work as much as that of paying the *nation's debts*, or opening a trade into the *South-Sea*; and though not of ſuch immediate benefit, as either of theſe, or any other of your glorious actions, yet perhaps in future ages not leſs to your honour.

My lord, I do here in the name of all the learned and polite perſons of the nation complain to your lordſhip as *firſt miniſter*, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily

daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to poliſh and refine it have chiefly multiplied abuſes and abſurdities; and that in many inſtances it offends againſt every part of grammar. But, leſt your lordſhip ſhould think my cenſure too ſevere, I ſhall take leave to be more particular.

I believe your lordſhip will agree with me in the reaſon, why our language is leſs refined than, thoſe of *Italy*, *Spain*, or *France*. 'Tis plain, that the *Latin* tongue in its purity was never in this iſland, towards the conqueſt of which few or no attempts were made till the time of *Claudius*; neither was that language ever ſo vulgar in *Britain*, as it is known to have been in *Gaul* and *Spain*. Further, we find that the *Roman* legions here were at length all recalled to help their country againſt the *Goths*, and other barbarous invaders. Mean time the *Britons* left to ſhift for themſelves, and daily harraſſed by cruel inroads from the *Picts*, were forced to call in the *Saxons* for their defence; who conſequently reduced the greateſt part of the iſland to their own power, drove the *Britons* into the moſt remote and mountainous parts, and the reſt of the country, in cuſtoms, religion, and language, became wholly *Saxon*. This I take to be the reaſon, why there are more *Latin* words remaining in the *Britiſh* tongue than in the old *Saxon*, which, excepting ſome few variations in the orthography, is the ſame in moſt original words with our preſent *Engliſh*, as well

as

with the *German* and other *Northern* dia-
ts.

Edward the *Confeſſor*, having lived long in
nce, appears to be the firſt who introduc-
any mixture of the *French* tongue with the
xon; the court affecting what the prince
s fond of, and others taking it up for a
hion, as it is now with us. *William the*
nqueror proceeded much further; bringing
:r with him vaſt numbers of that nation,
ttering them in every monaſtery, giving
:m great quantities of land, directing all
:adings to be in that language, and endea-
uring to make it univerſal in the kingdom.
iis at leaſt is the opinion generally receiv-
:· but your lordſhip hath fully convinced
:, that the *French* tongue made yet a greater
ogreſs here under *Harry the Second*, who
d large territories on that continent both
)m his father and wife, made frequent
ırnies and expeditions thither, and was al-
ıys attended with a number of his country-
:n, retainers at his court. For ſome centu-
:s after there was a conſtant intercourſe be-
'een *France* and *England*, by the dominions
: poſſeſſed there, and the conqueſts we made;
that our language between two and three
ındred years ago ſeems to have had a greater
ixture with *French* than at preſent; many
ords having been afterwards rejected, and
me ſince the time of *Spenſer*; although we
ıve ſtill retained not a few, which have
:en long antiquated in *France*. I could pro-
duce

duce ſeveral inſtances of both kinds, if it were of any uſe or entertainment.

To examine into the ſeveral circumſtances by which the language of a country may be altered, would force me to enter into a wide field. I ſhall only obſerve, that the *Latin*, the *French*, and the *Engliſh*, ſeem to have undergone the ſame fortune. The firſt, from the days of *Romulus* to thoſe of *Julius Cæſar*, ſuffered perpetual changes: and by what we meet in thoſe authors who occaſionally ſpeak on that ſubject, as well as from certain fragments of old laws, it is manifeſt that the *Latin* three hundred years before *Tully* was as unintelligible in his time, as the *Engliſh* and *French* of the ſame period are now; and theſe two have changed as much ſince *William the Conqueror* (which is but little leſs than ſeven hundred years) as the *Latin* appears to have done in the like term. Whether our language or the *French* will decline as faſt as the *Roman* did, is a queſtion, that would perhaps admit more debate than it is worth. There were many reaſons for the corruptions of the laſt: as, the change of their government to a tyranny, which ruined the ſtudy of eloquence, there being no farther uſe or encouragement for popular orators: their giving not only the freedom of the city, but capacity for employments, to ſeveral towns in *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and other diſtant parts, as far as *Aſia*; which brought a great number of foreign pretenders into *Rome*: the ſlaviſh diſpoſition of the ſenate and the people, by which the

the wit and eloquence of the age were wholly turned into panegyric, the moſt barren of all ſubjects: the great corruption of manners, and introduction of foreign luxury, with foreign terms to expreſs it, with ſeveral others, that might be aſſigned; not to mention thoſe invaſions from the *Goths* and *Vandals*, which are too obvious to inſiſt on.

The *Roman* language arrived at great perfection, before it began to decay: and the *French* for theſe laſt fifty years hath been poliſhing as much as it will bear, and appears to be declining by the natural inconſtancy of that people, and the affectation of ſome late authors to introduce and multiply cant words, which is the moſt ruinous corruption in any language. *La Bruyere*, a late celebrated writer among them, makes uſe of many new terms, which are not to be found in any of the common dictionaries before his time. But the *Engliſh* tongue is not arrived to ſuch a degree of perfection, as to make us apprehend any thoughts of its decay; as, if it were once refined to a certain ſtandard, perhaps there might be ways found out to fix it for ever, or at leaſt till we are invaded and made a conqueſt by ſome other ſtate; and even then our beſt writings might probably be preſerved with care, and grow into eſteem, and the authors have a chance for immortality.

But without ſuch great revolutions as theſe (to which we are, I think, leſs ſubject than kingdoms upon the continent) I ſee no abſolute neceſſity why any language ſhould be

perpe-

perpetually changing; for we find examples to the contrary. From *Homer* to *Plutarch* are above a thouſand years; ſo long at leaſt the purity of the *Greek* tongue may be allowed to laſt, and we know not how far before. The *Grecians* ſpread their colonies round all the coaſts of *Aſia Minor*, even to the *Northern* parts lying towards the *Euxine*, in every iſland of the *Ægæan* ſea, and ſeveral others in the *Mediterranean*; where the language was preſerved intire for many ages, after they themſelves became colonies to *Rome*, and till they were over-run by the barbarous nations upon the fall of that empire. The *Chineſe* have books in their language above two thouſand years old, neither have the frequent conqueſts of the *Tartars* been able to alter it. The *German*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*, have admitted few or no changes for ſome ages paſt. The other languages of *Europe* I know nothing of; neither is there any occaſion to conſider them.

Having taken this compaſs, I return to thoſe conſiderations upon our own language, which I would humbly offer your lordſhip. The period, wherein the *Engliſh* tongue received moſt improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of queen *Eliſabeth*'s reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty-two. 'Tis true, there was a very ill taſte both of ſtyle and wit, which prevailed under king *James* the firſt; but that ſeems to have been corrected in the firſt years of his ſucceſſor, who among other qualifications of an excellen

excellent prince, was a great patron of learning. From the civil war to this preſent time, I am apt to doubt whether the corruptions in our language have not at leaſt equalled the refinements of it; and theſe corruptions very few of the beſt authors in our age have wholly eſcaped. During the uſurpation, ſuch an infuſion of enthuſiaſtic jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not ſhaken off in many years after. To this ſucceeded that licentiouſneſs which entered with the reſtoration, and from infecting our religion and morals fell to corrupt our language; which laſt was not like to be much improved by thoſe, who at that time made up the court of king *Charles* the ſecond; either ſuch who had followed him in his baniſhment, or who had been altogether converſant in the dialect of thoſe fanatic times; or young men, who had been educated in the ſame country; ſo that the court, which uſed to be the ſtandard of propriety and correctneſs of ſpeech, was then, and, I think, hath ever ſince continued the worſt ſchool in *England* for that accompliſhment; and ſo will remain, till better care be taken in the education of our young nobility, that they may ſet out into the world with ſome foundation of literature, in order to qualify them for patterns of politeneſs. The conſequence of this defect upon our language may appear from plays, and other compoſitions written for entertainment within fifty years paſt; filled with a ſucceſſion of affected phraſes and new conceited words, either borrowed from the cur-

rent ſtyle of the court, or from thoſe, who under the character of men of wit and pleaſure pretended to give the law. Many of theſe refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible, which is no wonder, when they were the product only of ignorance and caprice.

I have never known this great town without one or more *dunces* of figure, who had credit enough to give riſe to ſome new word, and propagate it in moſt converſations, tho' it had neither humour nor ſignificancy. If it ſtruck the preſent taſte, it was ſoon tranſferred into the plays and current ſcriblers of the week, and became an addition to our language; while the men of wit and learning, inſtead of early obviating ſuch corruptions, were too often ſeduced to imitate and comply with them.

There is another ſet of men, who have contributed very much to the ſpoiling of the *Engliſh* tongue; I mean the poets from the time of the reſtoration. Theſe gentlemen, although they could not be inſenſible how much our language was already overſtocked with monoſyllables, yet to ſave time and pains introduced that barbarous cuſtom of abbreviating words, to fit them to the meaſure of their verſes; and this they have frequently done ſo very injudiciouſly, as to form ſuch harſh unharmonious ſounds, that none but a northern ear could endure: they have joined the moſt obdurate conſonants without one intervening vowel, only to ſhorten a ſyllable:

and

and their taſte in time became ſo depraved, that what was at firſt a poetical licenſe not to be juſtified, they made their choice, alledging, that the words pronounced at length ſounded faint and languid. This was a pretence to take up the ſame cuſtom in proſe: ſo that moſt of the books we ſee now-a-days, are full of thoſe manglings and abbreviations. Inſtances of this abuſe are innumerable: what does your lordſhip think of the words, *drudg'd*, *diſturb'd*, *rebuk'd*, *fledg'd*, and a thouſand others every-where to be met with in proſe as well as verſe? Where by leaving out a vowel to ſave a ſyllable we form ſo jarring a ſound, and ſo difficult to utter, that I have often wondered how it could ever obtain.

Another cauſe (and perhaps borrowed from the formes) which hath contributed not a little to the maiming of our language, is a fooliſh opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to ſpell exactly as we ſpeak; which, beſide the obvious inconvenience of utterly deſtroying our etymology, would be a thing we ſhould never ſee an end of. Not only the ſeveral towns and counties of *England* have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in *London* they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the ſuburbs: and in a few years, it is probable, will all differ from themſelves, as fancy or faſhion ſhall direct: all which reduced to writing would intirely confound orthography. Yet many people are ſo fond of this conceit, that it is ſometimes a

difficult matter to read modern books and pamphlets; where the words are ſo curtailed, and varied from their original ſpelling, that whoever hath been uſed to plain *Engliſh* will hardly know them by ſight.

Several young men at the univerſities, terribly poſſeſſed with the fear of pedantry, run into a worſe extreme, and think all politeneſs to conſiſt in reading the daily traſh ſent down to them from hence: this they call *knowing the world*, and *reading men and manners*. Thus furniſhed they come up to town, reckon all their errors for accompliſhments, borrow the neweſt ſet of phraſes; and, if they take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have picked up in a coffee-houſe, or a gaming ordinary, are produced as flowers of ſtyle; and the orthography refined to the utmoſt. To this we owe thoſe monſtrous productions, which, under the name of *trips*, *ſpies*, *amuſements*, and other conceited appellations, have over-run us for ſome years paſt. To this we owe that ſtrange race of wits, who tell us, they write to the *humour of the age*. And I wiſh I could ſay, theſe quaint fopperies were wholly abſent from graver ſubjects. In ſhort, I would undertake to ſhew your lordſhip ſeveral pieces, where the beauties of this kind are ſo predominant, that with all your ſkill in languages you could never be able to read or underſtand them.

But I am very much miſtaken, if many of theſe falſe refinements among us do not ariſe from a principle, which would quite deſtroy

their credit, if it were well underſtood and conſidered. For I am afraid, my lord, that with all the real good qualities of our country we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual diſpoſition to ſhorten our words, by retrenching the vowels, is nothing elſe but a tendency to lapſe into the barbarity of thoſe *northern* nations, from whom we are deſcended, and whoſe languages labour all under the ſame defect. For it is worthy our obſervation, that the *Spaniards*, the *French*, and the *Italians*, although derived from the ſame *northern* anceſtors with ourſelves, are with the utmoſt difficulty taught to pronounce our words, which the *Swedes* and *Danes*, as well as the *Germans* and the *Dutch*, attain to with eaſe, becauſe our ſyllables reſemble theirs in the roughneſs and frequency of conſonants. Now, as we ſtruggle with an ill climate to improve the nobler kinds of fruits, are at the expence of walls to receive and reverberate the faint rays of the ſun, and fence againſt the *northern* blaſts, we ſometimes by the help of a good ſoil equal the production of warmer countries, who have no need to be at ſo much coſt and care. It is the ſame thing with reſpect to the politer arts among us; and the ſame defect of heat which gives a fierceneſs to our natures, may contribute to that roughneſs of our language, which bears ſome analogy to the harſh fruit of colder countries. For I do not reckon that we want a *genius* more than the reſt of our neighbours: but your lordſhip will be of my opinion, that

we ought to struggle with these natural disad-
vantages as much as we can, and be careful
whom we employ, whenever we design to cor-
rect them, which is a work that has hitherto
been assumed by the least qualified hands. So
that, if the choice had been left to me, I would
rather have trusted the refinement of our lan-
guage, as far as it relates to sound, to the
judgment of the women, than of illiterate
court-fops, half-witted poets, and university
boys. For it is plain, that women in their
manner of corrupting words do naturally dis-
card the consonants, as we do the vowels.
What I am going to tell your lordship ap-
pears very trifling: that more than once, where
some of both sexes were in company, I have
perſuaded two or three of each to take a pen,
and write down a number of letters joined to-
gether, just as it came into their heads; and,
upon reading this gibberiſh, we have found
that which men have wrote, by the frequent
encountering of rough conſonants, to ſound
like *High-Dutch*; and the other by the women
like *Italian*, abounding in vowels and liquids
Now, though I would by no means give l
dies the trouble of adviſing us in the refo
mation of our language, yet I cannot h
thinking, that, ſince they have been left
of all meetings, except parties at play,
where worſe deſigns are carried on, our
verſation hath very much degenerated.

In order to reform our language, I con
my lord, that a free judicious choice
be made of ſuch perſons, as are gener

lowed to be beſt qualified for ſuch a work, without any regard to quality, party, or profeſſion. Theſe, to a certain number at leaſt, ſhould aſſemble at ſome appointed time and place, and fix on rules, by which they deſign to proceed. What methods they will take, is not for me to preſcribe. Your lordſhip, and other perſons in great employment, might pleaſe to be of the number; and I am afraid ſuch a ſociety would want your inſtruction and example as much as your protection; for I have, not without a little envy, obſerved of late the ſtyle of ſome great miniſters very much to exceed that of any other productions.

The perſons who are to undertake this work will have the example of the *French* before them to imitate, where theſe have proceeded right, and to avoid their miſtakes. Beſides the grammar-part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will obſerve many groſs improprieties, which however authoriſed by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be diſcarded. They will find many words that deſerve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long ſince antiquated, which ought to be reſtored on account of their energy and ſound.

But what I have moſt at heart, is, that ſome method ſhould be thought on for *aſcertaining* and *fixing* our language for ever, after ſuch alterations are made in it as ſhall be thought requiſite. For I am of opinion, that

that it is better a language ſhould not be wholly perfect, than that it ſhould be perpetually changing; and we muſt give over at one time, or at length infallibly change for the worſe, as the *Romans* did, when they began to quit their *ſimplicity* of ſtyle for affected refinements, ſuch as we meet in *Tacitus* and other authors; which ended by degrees in many barbarities, even before the *Goths* had invaded *Italy*.

The fame of our writers is uſually confined to theſe two iſlands, and it is hard it ſhould be limited in *time* as much as *place* by the perpetual variations of our ſpeech. It is your lordſhip's obſervation, that, if it were not for the *Bible* and *Common Prayer Book* in the vulgar tongue, we ſhould hardly be able to underſtand any thing, that was written among us an hundred years ago; which is certainly true: for thoſe books, being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of ſtandard for language, eſpecially to the common people. And I doubt, whether the alterations ſince introduced have added much to the beauty or ſtrength of the *Engliſh* tongue, though they have taken off a great deal from that *ſimplicity*, which is one of the greateſt perfections in any language. You, my lord, who are ſo converſant in the ſacred writings, and ſo great a judge of them in their originals, will agree, that no tranſlation our country ever yet produced hath come up to that of the *Old* and *New Teſtament*: and by the many beautiful paſſages, which I have often had the honour to hear your lordſhip cite from

thence,

thence, I am perſuaded, that the tranſlators of the bible were maſters of an *Engliſh* ſtyle much fitter for that work, than any we ſee in our preſent writings; which I take to be owing to the *ſimplicity* that runs through the whole. Then as to the greateſt part of our *liturgy*, compiled long before the tranſlation of the *Bible* now in uſe, and little altered ſince; there ſeem to be in it as great ſtrains of true ſublime eloquence, as are any where to be found in our language; which every man of good taſte will obſerve in the *communion ſervice*, that of *burial*, and other parts.

But when I ſay, that I would have our language, after it is duly correct, always to laſt, I do not mean that it ſhould never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a ſociety ſhall give ſanction to, be afterwards antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they ſhall find occaſion for; becauſe then the old books will yet be always valuable according to their intrinſic worth, and not thrown aſide on account of unintelligible words and phraſes, which appear harſh and uncouth, only becauſe they are out of faſhion. Had the *Roman* tongue continued vulgar in that city till this time, it would have been abſolutely neceſſary, from the mighty changes that have been made in law and religion, from the many terms of art required in trade and in war, from the new inventions that have happened in the world, from the vaſt ſpreading of navigation and commerce, with many other obvi-

ous circumſtances, to have ma
tions to that language; yet the
ſtill have been read and underſt
ſure and eaſe. The *Greek* t
many enlargements between t
mer and that of *Plutarch*, yet
thor was probably as well und
jan's time as the latter. What
words going off and periſhing
new ones coming in their place,
he laments, rather than a thin
but I cannot ſee why this ſhou
ly neceſſary, or, if it were, w
become of his *monumentum ære*

Writing by memory only,
ſent, I would gladly keep wit
and therefore ſhall not enter ir
ticulars. Neither do I preten
ſhew the uſefulneſs of this deſig
ſome general obſervations, lea
that ſociety, which I hope wil
tution and patronage to your
ſides, I would willingly avoid r
ing about a year ago commu
public much of what I had to
ſubject, by the hands of an in
man, who for a long time dic
divert or inſtruct the kingdom
and is ſuppoſed to purſue the
preſent under the title of *Spectа*
thor, who hath tried the force
our language, with ſo much
intirely with me in moſt of my
lating to it; ſo do the greateſt

of wit and learning, whom I have had the happineſs to converſe with; and therefore I imagine that ſuch a ſociety would be pretty unanimous in the main point.

Your lordſhip muſt allow, that ſuch a work as this brought to perfection would very much contribute to the glory of her majeſty's reign; which ought to be recorded in words more durable than braſs, and ſuch as our poſterity may read a thouſand years hence with pleaſure as well as admiration. I always diſapproved that falſe compliment to princes, that the moſt laſting monument they can have, is the hearts of their ſubjects. It is indeed their greateſt preſent felicity to reign in their ſubjects hearts; but theſe are too periſhable to preſerve their memories, which can only be done by the pens of able and faithful hiſtorians. And I take it to be your lordſhip's duty, as *prime miniſter*, to give order for inſpecting our language, and rendering it fit to record the hiſtory of ſo great and good a princeſs. Beſides, my lord, as diſintereſted as you appear to the world, I am convinced, that no man is more in the power of a prevailing favourite paſſion than yourſelf; I mean that deſire of true and laſting honour, which you have borne along with you thro' every ſtage of your life. To this you have often ſacrificed your intereſt, your eaſe, and your health: for preſerving and increaſing this you have expoſed your perſon to ſecret treachery and open violence. There is not perhaps an example in hiſtory of any miniſter,

deſire of fame hath been no inconſid
motive to quicken you in the purſuit o
actions, which will beſt deſerve it. I
the ſame time I muſt be ſo plain as
your lordſhip, that if you will not take
care to ſettle our language, and put it
ſtate of continuance, I cannot promi
your memory ſhall be preſerved abo
hundred years, farther than by imperfe
dition.

As barbarous and ignorant as we w
former centuries, there was more eſ
care taken by our anceſtors to preſer
memory of times and perſons, than w
in this age of learning and politeneſs,
are pleaſed to call it. The rude *Latin*
monks is ſtill very intelligible; whereas
their records been delivered down only
vulgar tongue, ſo barren and ſo barb
ſo ſubject to continual ſucceeding ch

this rate, all I can promiſe your lordſhip, is, that about two hundred years hence ſome painful compiler, who will be at the trouble of ſtudying old language, may inform the world, that, in the reign of queen *Anne*, *Robert* earl of *Oxford*, a very wiſe and excellent man, was made *high treaſurer*, and ſaved his country, which in thoſe days was almoſt ruined by a *foreign war*, and a *domeſtic faction*. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his new hiſtory; but the reſt of your character, which I or any other writer may now value ourſelves by drawing, and the particular account of the great things done under your miniſtry, for which you are already ſo celebrated in moſt parts of *Europe*, will probably be dropped on account of the antiquated ſtyle and manner they are delivered in.

How then ſhall any man, who hath a genius for hiſtory equal to the beſt of the ancients, be able to undertake ſuch a work with ſpirit and chearfulneſs, when he conſiders that he will be read with pleaſure but a very few years, and in an age or two ſhall hardly be underſtood without an interpreter? This is like employing an excellent ſtatuary to work upon mouldering ſtone. Thoſe, who apply their ſtudies to preſerve the memory of others, will always have ſome concern for their own. And I believe it is for this reaſon, that ſo few writers among us of any diſtinction have turned their thoughts to ſuch a diſcouraging employment: for the beſt *Engliſh* hiſtorian muſt

lie under this mortification, that, w
ſtyle grows antiquated, he will be on
ſidered as a tedious relator of facts; a
haps conſulted in his turn among oth
lected authors to furniſh materials f
future collector.

I doubt your lordſhip is but ill ente
with a few ſcattered thoughts upon a
that deſerves to be treated with abil
care: however, I muſt beg leave to
few words more, perhaps not altoget
reign to the ſame matter. I know no
ther that which I am going to ſay m
for caution, advice, or reproach,
which will be juſtly thought very in
from one in my ſtation to one in
However, I muſt venture to affirm, t
genius and learning be not encouraged
your lordſhip's adminiſtration, you a
moſt inexcuſable perſon alive. All you
virtues, my lord, will be defective v
this; your affability, candour, and go
ture; that perpetual agreeableneſs of c
ſation, ſo diſengaged in the midſt of
weight of buſineſs and oppoſition; eve
juſtice, prudence, and magnanimity

influence and protection: beſides, who knows but ſome *true genius* may happen to ariſe under your miniſtry, *exortus ut ætherius ſol.* Every age might perhaps produce one of two of theſe to adorn it, if they were not ſunk under the cenſure and obloquy of plodding, ſervile, imitating pedants: I do not mean by a true genius any bold writer, who breaks through the rules of decency to diſtinguiſh himſelf by the ſingularity of his opinions; but one, who upon a deſerving ſubject is able to open new ſcenes, and diſcover a vein of true and noble thinking, which never entered into any imagination before: every ſtroke of whoſe pen is worth all the paper blotted by hundreds of others in the compaſs of their lives. I know, my lord, your friends will offer in your defence, that in your private capacity you never refuſed your purſe and credit to the ſervice and ſupport of learned or ingenious men: and that, ever ſince you have been in public employment, you have conſtantly beſtowed your favours to the moſt deſerving perſons. But I deſire your lordſhip not to be deceived; we never will admit of theſe excuſes, nor will allow your private liberality, as great as it is, to atone for your exceſſive public thrift. But here again I am afraid moſt good ſubjects will interpoſe in your defence, by alledging the deſperate condition you found the nation in, and the neceſſity there was for ſo able and faithful a ſteward to retrieve it, if poſſible, by the utmoſt frugality. We grant all this, my lord; but

then

then it ought likewiſe to be conſidered, that you have already ſaved ſeveral millions to the public, and that what we aſk is too inconſiderable to break into any rules of the ſtricteſt good huſbandry. The *French* king beſtows about half a dozen penſions to learned men in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, and perhaps a dozen in his own kingdom; which in the whole do probably not amount to half the income of many a private commoner in *England*, yet have more contributed to the glory of that prince, than any million he hath otherwiſe employed. For learning, like all true merit, is eaſily ſatisfied; whilſt the falſe and counterfeit is perpetually craving, and never thinks it hath enough. The ſmalleſt favour given by a great prince, as a mark of eſteem, to reward the endowments of the mind, never fails to be returned with praiſe and gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the world. I have known ſome years ago ſeveral penſions given to particular perſons, (how deſervedly I ſhall not inquire) any one of which, if divided into ſmaller parcels, and diſtributed by the crown to thoſe who might upon occaſion diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome extraordinary production of wit or learning, would be amply ſufficient to anſwer the end. Or if any ſuch perſons were above money, (as every great *genius* certainly is with very moderate conveniencies of life) a medal, or ſome mark of diſtinction, would do full as well.

But I forget my province, and find myſelf turning projector before I am aware; altho'

it be one of the laſt characters under which I ſhould deſire to appear before your lordſhip, eſpecially when I have the ambition of aſpiring to that of being with the greateſt reſpect and truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

moſt obedient, moſt obliged,

and moſt humble ſervant.

London, Feb. 22, 1711-12.

ABOUT

ABOUT a month before the demiſe of queen *Anne*, the dean, having laboured to reconcile the miniſters to each other without ſucceſs, retired to the houſe of a friend in *Berkſhire*, and never ſaw them more. But during this retreat he wrote the following treatiſe, which he thought might be of ſome uſe even in that juncture, and ſent it up to *London* to be printed; but, upon ſome difference in opinion between the author and the late lord *Bolingbroke*, the publication was delayed till the queen's death, and then he recalled his copy: it was afterwards placed in the hands of the late alderman *Barber*, from whom it was obtained to be printed. The ruin of the miniſtry by this animoſity among themſelves was long foreſeen and foretold by *Swift*, and it appears by lord *Bolingbroke*'s letter to ſir *William Wyndham*, that in his heart he renounced his friendſhip for *Oxford* long before the concluſion of the peace, though it did not appear till afterwards. "The peace, "ſays he, which had been judged to be the "only ſolid foundation whereupon we could "erect a tory ſyſtem, and yet when it was "made we found ourſelves at a ſtand; nay "the very work, which ought to have been "the baſis of our ſtrength, was in part de-"moliſhed before our eyes, and we were "ſtoned with the ruins of it." This event probably rendered the diſunion of the miniſtry viſible; ſome principally endeavouring to ſecure themſelves, ſome ſtill labouring to eſtabliſh at all events the party they had eſpouſed, which ſaw nothing but "increaſe of mortifi-

cation

cation and nearer approaches to ruin," and it is not be wondered, that, when this treatiſe was written, the dean's attempts to reconcile his friends were unſucceſsful; for *Bolingbroke* declares, that he abhorred *Oxford* to ſuch a degree, that he would rather have ſuffered baniſhment or death, than have taken meaſures in concert with him to have avoided either.

SOME

occaſion for employing this gift of the lowe politics, whenever the tide runs high againſ the court and miniſtry, which ſeldom hap pens under any tolerable adminiſtration, whil the true intereſt of the nation is purſued But, here in *England* (for I do not preten to eſtabliſh maxims of government in gene ral) while the prince and miniſtry, the clergy the majority of landed-men, and bulk of th people appear to have the ſame views and th ſame principles, it is not obvious to me, how thoſe at the helm can have many opportunitie of ſhewing their ſkill in myſtery and refine ment, beſides what themſelves think fit t create.

I have been aſſured by men long practiſe in buſineſs, that the ſecrets of court are muc fewer than we generally ſuppoſe; and I hold it for the greateſt ſecret of court, that they ar ſo: becauſe the firſt ſprings of great events, like thoſe of great rivers, are often ſo mean and ſo little, that in decency they ought to be hid: and therefore miniſters are ſo wiſe to leave their proceedings to be accounted for by reaſoners at a diſtance, who often mould them into ſyſtems, that do not only go down very well in the coffee-houſe, but are ſupplies for pamphlets in the preſent age, and may probably furniſh materials for memoirs and hiſtories in the next.

It is true indeed, that even thoſe who are very near the court, and are ſuppoſed to have a large ſhare in the management of public matters, are apt to deduct wrong conſequences

by reaſoning upon the cauſes and motives thoſe actions, wherein themſelves are em-yed. A great miniſter puts you a caſe, l aſks your opinion, but conceals an eſſen-circumſtance, upon which the whole weight the matter turns; then he deſpiſeth your lerſtanding for counſelling him no better, l concludes he ought to truſt intirely to his n wiſdom. Thus he grows to abound in ets and reſerves even towards thoſe, with om he ought to act in the greateſt confi-ce and concert; and thus the world is ught to judge, that, whatever be the iſſue event, it was all foreſeen, contrived, and ught to paſs by ſome maſter-ſtroke of his itics.

could produce innumerable inſtances, from own memory and obſervation, of events uted to the profound ſkill and addreſs of iniſter, which in reality were either the e effects of negligence, weakneſs, hu-ur, paſſion, or pride, or, at beſt, but the ural courſe of things left to themſelves.

During this very ſeſſion of parliament a t ingenious gentleman, who hath much lit with thoſe in power, would needs have that in the late diſſenſions at court, which w too high to be any longer a ſecret, the le matter was carried with the utmoſt dex-y on one ſide, and with manifeſt ill con-t on the other. To prove this he made of the moſt plauſible topics, drawn from nature and diſpoſition of the ſeveral per-concerned, as well as of her majeſty;

all

iſſue of thoſe diſſenſions, as to the
had in the court and houſe of lords,
ly owing to very different cauſes, a
to the ſituation of affairs, from when
conjuncture they could not eaſily
otherwiſe than they did, whatever
conſequences they may have for the

In like manner I have heard a
pronounce with great gravity, that he
ſo many patients of malignant feve
many more of the ſmall-pox; w
truth nine parts in ten of thoſe who
ed owed their lives to the ſtrength
and a good conſtitution, while ſuch
pened to be their doctor.

But, while it is ſo difficult to
ſprings and motives of ſome facts,
ſy to forget the circumſtances of ot
no wonder they ſhould be ſo groſly
ſented to the public by curious

I muſt acknowledge hath very much abated my veneration for what they call *arcana imperii*; whereof I dare pronounce, that the fewer there are in any adminiſtration, it is juſt ſo much the better.

What I have hitherto ſaid, hath by no means been intended to detract from the qualities requiſite in thoſe, who are truſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs; on the contrary, I know no ſtation of life, where great abilities and virtues of all kinds are ſo highly neceſſary, and where the want of any is ſo quickly or univerſally felt. A great miniſter hath no virtue for which the public may not be the better, nor any defect by which the public is not certainly a ſufferer. I have known, more than once or twice within four years paſt, an omiſſion, in appearance very ſmall, prove almoſt fatal to a whole ſcheme, and very hardly retrieved. It is not always ſufficient for the perſon at the helm, that he is intrepid in his nature, free from any tincture of avarice or corruption, and that he hath great natural and acquired abilities.

I never thought the reputation of much ſecrecy was a character of any advantage to a miniſter, becauſe it put all other men upon their guard to be as ſecret as he, and was conſequently the occaſion that perſons and things were always miſrepreſented to him: becauſe likewiſe too great an affectation of ſecrecy is uſually thought to be attended with thoſe little intrigues and refinements, which among the vulgar denominate a man a great politi-

cian; but among others is apt, whether deſervedly or no, to acquire the opinion of cunning: a talent, which differs as much from the true knowledge of government, as that of an attorney from an able lawyer. Neither indeed am I altogether convinced, that this habit of multiplying ſecrets may not be carried on ſo far as to ſtop that communication, which is neceſſary in ſome degree among all who have any conſiderable part in the management of public affairs: becauſe I have obſerved the inconveniencies, ariſing from a want of love between thoſe who were to give directions, to *have* been of as ill conſequence, as any that could happen from the diſcovery of ſecrets. I ſuppoſe, when a building is to be erected, the model may be the contrivance only of one head; and it is ſufficient that the under-workmen be ordered to cut ſtones into certain ſhapes, and place them in certain poſitions: but the ſeveral maſter-builders muſt have ſome general knowledge of the deſign, without which they can give no orders at all. And, indeed, I do not know a greater mark of an able miniſter, than that of rightly adapting the ſeveral faculties of men; nor is any thing more to be lamented than the impracticableneſs of doing this in any great degree under our preſent circumſtances, while ſo many ſhut themſelves out by adhering to a faction, and while the court is enſlaved to the impatience of others, who deſire to ſell their vote, or their intereſt, as dear as they can. But whether this hath not been ſubmitted to

more

re than was neceſſary, whether it hath not
n dangerous in the example, and pernici-
s in the practice, I will leave to the inqui-
of thoſe who can better determine.

It may be matter of no little admiration to
ıſider in ſome lights the ſtate of affairs a-
ng us for four years paſt. The queen
ding herſelf and the majority of her king-
n grown weary of the avarice and inſo-
ce, the miſtaken politics, and deſtructive
nciples of her former miniſters; calls to
ſervice of the public another ſet of men,
o by confeſſion of their enemies had equal
lities at leaſt with their predeceſſors; whoſe
reſt made it neceſſary for them (although
ir inclinations had been otherwiſe) to act
ın thoſe maxims which were moſt agree-
e to the conſtitution in church and ſtate;
oſe birth and patrimonies gave them weight
he nation; and who (I ſpeak of thoſe who
e to have the chief part in affairs) had
g lived under the ſtricteſt bonds of friend-
): with all theſe advantages ſupported by
aſt majority of the landed intereſt, and the
rior clergy almoſt to a man, we have ſe-
al times ſeen the preſent adminiſtration in
greateſt diſtreſs, and very near the brink
uin, together with the cauſe of the church
monarchy committed to their charge;
her doth it appear to me at the minute I
now writing, that their power or durati-
are upon any tolerable foot of ſecurity:
ch I do not ſo much impute to the addreſs
induſtry of their enemies, as to ſome fai-

lures among themſelves, which I think have been full as viſible in their cauſes as their effects.

Nothing hath given me greater indignation than to behold a miniſtry, who came with the advantages I have repreſented, acting ever ſince upon the defenſive in the houſe of lords with a majority on their ſide, and inſtead of calling others to an account, as it was reaſonably expected, miſpending their time and loſing many opportunities of doing good, becauſe a ſtruggling faction kept them continually in play. This courage among the adverſaries of the court was inſpired into them by various incidents, for every one of which I think the *miniſters*, or (if that was the caſe) the *miniſter* alone is to anſwer.

For, firſt, that race of politicians, who in the cant phraſe are called the *whimſicals* *, was never ſo numerous, or at leaſt ſo active, as it hath been ſince the great change at court; many of thoſe, who pretended wholly to be in with the principles upon which her majeſty and her new ſervants proceeded, either abſenting themſelves with the utmoſt indifference, in thoſe

* Whimſicals were tories who had been eager for the concluſion of the peace till the treaties were perfected, then they could come up to no direct approbation; in the clamour raiſed about the danger of the ſucceſſion they joined the whigs, and declared directly againſt their party, and affected in moſt other points a moſt glorious neutrality. See *Bolin.* Lett. to *Wynd.* p. 48, 49.

inctures whereon the whole cauſe
or ſiding directly with the enemy.
ell remember, when this miniſtry
ove a year old, there was a little
among ſuch as are called the high-
churchmen, that quicker progreſs
ide in removing thoſe of the diſ-
party out of employments. I re-
kewiſe, the reaſonings upon this
e various, even among many who
ed to know a good deal of the in-
court; ſome ſuppoſed the queen
t prevailed on to make that great
h no other view, than that of act-
future upon a *moderating ſcheme*
reconcile both parties; and I be-
might poſſibly have been ſome
this ſuppoſition. Others conceiv-
loyments were left undiſpoſed of,
keep alive the hopes of many more
andidates than ever could be gra-
is hath ſince been looked on as a
train of politics, and to have ſuc-
rdingly; becauſe it is the opinion
that the numerous pretenders to
ld never have been kept in order,
ſtation had been cut off. Others
ore refined; and thought it neither
fe wholly to extinguiſh all oppoſi-
the other ſide; becauſe in the na-
igs it was abſolutely neceſſary that
d be parties in an *Engliſh* parlia-
a faction already odious to the
ht be ſuffered to continue with

leſs danger, than any new one that
ariſe. To confirm this it was ſaid, th
majority in the houſe of commons w
great on the ſide of the high-church, a
gan to form themſelves into a body (
name of the *October-club)* in order to
miniſtry under ſubjection. Laſtly, th
ger of introducing too great a number
experienced men at once into office
urged as an irrefragable reaſon for n
changes by ſlow degrees. To diſcard
officer from an employment, or part of
miſſion, where the revenue or trade we
cerned, for no other reaſon but diffe
ſome principles of government, might
terrible conſequence.

However it is certain, that none of
excuſes were able to paſs among men
argued only from the principles of g
reaſon. For, firſt, they looked up
ſchemes of comprehenſion to be as vi
and impoſſible in the ſtate, as in the c
Secondly, while the ſpirit raiſed by th
of dr. *Sacheverell* continued in motion
were not ſo keen upon coming *in* them
as to ſee their enemies *out*, and depri
all aſſiſtance to do miſchief; and it is
further, that this general ambition of
ing after places grew chiefly from ſeein
ſo long undiſpoſed of, and from too
an encouragement by promiſes to all
were thought capable of doing either g
hurt. Thirdly, the fear of creating a
party, in caſe the preſent faction were

ſubdued, was, in the opinion of plain men, and in regard to the ſituation of our affairs, too great a ſacrifice of the nation's ſafety to the *genius* of politics; conſidering how much was to be done, and how little time might probably be allowed. Beſides, the diviſion of a houſe of commons into *court* and *country* parties, which was the evil they ſeemed to apprehend, could never be dangerous to a good miniſtry, who had the true intereſt and conſtitution of their country at heart: as for the apprehenſion of too great a majority in the houſe of commons, it appeared to be ſo vain, that upon ſome points of importance the court was hardly able to procure one. And the *October-club*, which appeared ſo formidable at firſt to ſome politicians, proved in the ſequel to be the chief ſupport of thoſe who ſuſpected them. It was likewiſe very well known that the greateſt part of thoſe men, whom the former miniſtry left in poſſeſſion of employments, were loudly charged with inſufficiency or corruption, over and above their obnoxious tenets in religion and government; ſo that it would have been a matter of ſome difficulty to make a worſe choice: beſides, that plea for keeping men of factious principles in employment, upon the ſcore of their abilities, was thought to be extended a little too far, and conſtrued to take in all employments whatſoever, although many of them required no more abilities than would ſerve to qualify a gentleman-uſher at court: ſo that this laſt excuſe for the very ſlow ſteps

made

made in diſarming the adverſaries of the crown was allowed indeed to have more plauſibility but leſs truth, than any of the former.

I do not here pretend to condemn the counſels or actions of the preſent miniſtry: the ſafety and intereſt are viſibly united with those of the public, they are perſons of unqueſtionable abilities, altogether unſuſpected of avarice or corruption, and have the advantage to be further recommended by the dread and hatred of the oppoſite faction. However, it is manifeſt that the zeal of their friends has been cooling towards them for above two years paſt: they have been frequently diſerted or diſtreſſed upon the moſt preſſing occaſions, and very near giving up in deſpair their characters have been often treated with the utmoſt barbarity and injuſtice in both houſes by ſcurrilous and enraged orators, while their neareſt friends, and even thoſe who muſt have a ſhare in their diſgrace, never offered a word in their vindication.

When I examine with myſelf what occaſions the miniſtry may have given for this coldneſs, inconſtancy, and diſcontent among their friends, I at the ſame time recollect the various conjectures, reaſonings, and ſuſpicions which have run ſo freely for three years paſt concerning the deſigns of the court: I do not only mean ſuch conjectures, as are born in a coffee-houſe, or invented by the malice of a party; but alſo the concluſions (however miſtaken) of wiſe and good men, whoſe quality *and* ſtation fitted them to underſtand the re-

ſon of public proceedings, and in whoſe power it lay to recommend or diſgrace an adminiſtration to the people. I muſt therefore take the boldneſs to aſſert, that all theſe diſcontents, how ruinous ſoever they may prove in the conſequences, have moſt unneceſſarily ariſen from the want of a due *communication* and *concert*. Every man muſt have a light ſufficient for the length of the way he is appointed to go: there is a degree of confidence due to all ſtations; and a petty conſtable will neither act chearfully or wiſely without that ſhare of it which properly belongs to him: although the main ſpring in a watch be out of ſight, there is an intermediate communication between it and the ſmalleſt wheel, or elſe no uſeful motion could be performed. This reſerved myſterious way of acting upon points, where there appeared not the leaſt occaſion for it, and towards perſons, who at leaſt, in right of their poſts, expected a more open treatment, was imputed to ſome hidden deſign, which every man conjectured to be the very thing he was moſt afraid of. Thoſe who profeſſed the heighth of what is called the church principle, ſuſpected, that a *comprehenſion* was intended, wherein the *moderate* men on both ſides might be equally employed. Others went farther, and dreaded ſuch a comprehenſion, as directly tended to bring the old exploded principles and perſons once more into play. Again, ſome affected to be uneaſy about the ſucceſſion, and ſeemed to think there was a view of introducing that

perſon.

perſon, whatever he is, who pretends to clain the crown by inheritance. Others, eſpeciall of late, ſurmiſed on the contrary, that th demands of the houſe of *Hanover* were in duſtriouſly fomented by ſome in power, with out the privity of the —— or ——. Now although theſe accuſations were too inconſiſt ent to be all of them true, yet they were ma liciouſly ſuffered to paſs, and thereby took of much of that popularity, which thoſe at th helm ſtood in need of to ſupport them unde the difficulties of a long perplexing negocia tion, a daily addition of public debts, and a exhauſted treaſury.

But the effects of this myſtical manner o proceeding did not end here: for the lat diſſenſions between the great men at cour (which have been, for ſome time paſt, th public entertainment of every coffee-houſe) are ſaid to have ariſen from the ſame foun tain; while on one ſide very great reſerve, and certainly very great reſentment on the other *, if we may believe general report (fo I pretend to know no farther) have inflamed animoſities to ſuch a heighth, as to make all reconcilement impracticable. Suppoſing this to be true, it may ſerve for a great leſſon of humiliation to mankind, to behold the habits and paſſions of men, otherwiſe highly accompliſhed, triumphing over intereſt, friend- ſhip, honour, and their own perſonal ſafety, aq

* *Lord Oxford's* reſerve was the cauſe of *Boling- broke's* reſentment.

as well as that of their country, and probably of a moſt gracious princeſs who hath intruſted it to them. A ſhip's crew quarreling in a ſtorm, or while their enemies are within gun-ſhot, is but a faint idea of this fatal infatuation: of which, although it be hard to ſay enough, ſome people may think perhaps I have already ſaid too much.

Since this unhappy incident, the deſertion of friends and loſs of reputation have been ſo great, that I do not ſee how the miniſters could have continued many weeks in their ſtations, if their oppoſers of all kinds had agreed about the methods by which they ſhould be ruined: and their preſervation hitherto ſeems to reſemble his, who had two poiſons given him together of contrary operations.

It may ſeem very impertinent in one of my level to point out to thoſe, who ſit at the helm, what courſe they ought to ſteer. I know enough of courts to be ſenſible, how mean an opinion great miniſters have of moſt men's underſtanding; to a degree, that in any other ſcience would be called the groſſeſt pedantry. However, unleſs I offer my ſentiments in this point, all I have hitherto ſaid, will be to no purpoſe.

The general wiſhes and deſires of a people are perhaps more obvious to other men than to miniſters of ſtate. There are two points of the higheſt importance, wherein a very great majority of the kingdom appear perfectly hearty and unanimous. Firſt, that the church of *England* ſhould be preſerved intire

in all her rights, powers, and privileges; all doctrines relating to government diſcouraged, which ſhe condemns; all ſchiſms, ſects, and hereſies diſcountenanced and kept under due ſubjection, as far as conſiſts with the lenity of our conſtitution; her open enemies (among whom I include at leaſt diſſenters of all denominations) not truſted with the ſmalleſt degree of civil or military power; and her ſecret adverſaries, under the names of whigs, low-church, republicans, moderation-men and the like, receive no marks of favour from the crown, but what they ſhould deſerve by a ſincere reformation.

Had this point been ſteadily purſued in all its parts, for three years paſt, and aſſerted as the avowed reſolution of the court, there muſt probably have been an end of faction, which hath been able ever ſince with ſo much vigour to diſturb and inſult the adminiſtration. I know very well, that ſome refiners pretend to argue for the uſefulneſs of parties in ſuch a government as ours: I have ſaid ſomething of this already, and have heard a great many idle wiſe topics upon the ſubject. But I ſhall not argue that matter at preſent: I ſuppoſe, if a man thinks it neceſſary to *play* with a *ſerpent*, he will chuſe one of a kind that is leaſt miſchievous; otherwiſe, although it appears to be cruſhed, it may have life enough to ſting him to death. So I think it is not ſafe tampering with the preſent faction, at leaſt in this juncture: firſt, becauſe their principles and practices have been already very dangerous to

the

the conſtitution in church and ſtate: ſecondly, becauſe they are highly irritated with the loſs of their power, full of venom and vengeance, and prepared to execute every thing that rage or malice can ſuggeſt: but principally, becauſe they have prevailed by miſrepreſentations and other artifices to make the ſucceſſor look upon them as the only perſons he can truſt: upon which account they cannot be too ſoon, or too much diſabled: neither will *England* ever be ſafe from the attempts of this wicked confederacy, until their ſtrength and intereſt ſhall be ſo far reduced, that for the future it ſhall not be in the power of the crown, although in conjunction with any rich and factious body of men, to chuſe an ill majority of the houſe of commons.

One ſtep very neceſſary to this great work will be to regulate the army, and chiefly thoſe troops which in their turns have the care of her majeſty's perſon; who are moſt of them fitter to guard a prince under an *high court of juſtice*, than ſeated on the throne. The peculiar hand of providence hath hitherto preſerved her majeſty, encompaſſed, whether ſleeping or travelling, by her enemies: but ſince religion teacheth us, that providence ought not to be tempted, it is ill-venturing to truſt that precious life any longer to thoſe, who by their public behaviour and diſcourſe diſcover their impatience to ſee it at an end; that they may have liberty to be the inſtruments of glutting at once the revenge of their patrons and their own. It ſhould be well remember-

at a ſatisfaction theſe gentlemen (after
mple of their betters) were ſo ſanguine
preſs upon the queen's laſt illneſs at
or, and what threatenings they uſed of
ng to obey their general, in caſe that
ſs had proved fatal. Nor do I think it a
t of charity to ſuſpect, that in ſuch an
day an enraged faction would be highly
aſed with the power of the ſword, and
th great connivance leave it ſo long un-
eathed, until they were got rid of their
noſt formidable adverſaries. In the mean
ime it muſt be a very melancholy proſpect,
that, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to viſit us
with this calamity, thoſe who are paid to be
defenders of the civil power, will ſtand ready
for any acts of violence, that a *Junto* compo-
ſed of the greateſt enemies to the conſtitutio
ſhall think fit to enjoin them.

The other point of great importance is t
ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in t
houſe of *Hanover*: not from any partiality
that illuſtrious houſe, further than as it h
had the honour to mingle with the blood r
of *England*, and is the neareſt branch of
regal line reformed from popery. This
hath one advantage over the former, tha
parties profeſs to deſire the ſame bleſſi
poſterity, but differ about the means
curing it. From whence it hath come
that the proteſtant ſucceſſion, in ap
the deſire of the whole nation, hath
the greateſt topic of ſlander, jealouſy,
on, and diſcontent.

I have been ſo curious to aſk ſeveral acquaintance among the oppoſite party, whether they, or their leaders, did really ſuſpect there had been ever any deſign in the miniſtry to weaken the ſucceſſion in favour of the *pretender*, or of any other perſon whatſoever. Some of them freely anſwered in the negative: others were of the ſame opinion, but added, they did not know what might be done in time, and upon farther provocations: others again ſeemed to believe the affirmative, but could never produce any plauſible grounds for their belief. I have likewiſe been aſſured by perſons of ſome conſequence, that, during a very near and conſtant familiarity with the great men at court for four years paſt, he never could obſerve where, even in thoſe hours of converſation where there is uſually leaſt reſtraint, that one word ever paſſed among them to ſhew a diſlike to the preſent ſettlement; although they would ſometimes lament, that the falſe repreſentations of their's and the kingdom's enemies had made ſome impreſſions in the mind of the ſucceſſor. As to my own circle of acquaintance I can ſafely affirm, that, excepting thoſe who are *nonjurors* by profeſſion, I have not met with above two perſons who appeared to have any ſcruples concerning the preſent limitation of the crown. I therefore think it may very impartially be pronounced, that the number of thoſe, who wiſh to ſee the ſon of the abdicated prince upon the throne, is altogether inconſiderable. And further, I believe it will be found, that there

are none who ſo much dread any attempt he ſhall make for the recovery of his imagined rights, as the *Roman-Catholics* of *England*; who love their freedom and properties too well to deſire his entrance by a *French* army, and a field of blood; who muſt continue upon the ſame foot if he changeth his religion, and muſt expect to be firſt and greateſt ſufferers if he ſhould happen to fail.

As to the perſon of this nominal prince, he lies under all manner of diſadvantages: the vulgar imagine him to have been a child impoſed upon the nation by the fraudulent zeal of his parents and their bigotted counſellors; who took ſpecial care, againſt all the rules of common policy, to educate him in their hateful ſuperſtition, ſucked in with his milk and confirmed in his manhood, too ſtrong to be now ſhaken by Mr. *Leſley**; and a counterfeit converſion will be too groſs to paſs upo the kingdom, after what we have ſeen an ſuffered from the like practice in his fathe He is likewiſe ſaid to be of weak intellectual and an unſound conſtitution: he was treat contemptibly enough by the young princes *France*, even during the war; is now whc neglected by that crown, and driven to ! in exile upon a ſmall exhibition: he is ut

* *Leſley* was a nonjuring clergyman, who wr letter from *Barleduc* in *Lorrain*, the place o pretender's reſidence, addreſſed to a member o liament in *London*, in praiſe and on behalf *prince*. This letter was printed and publicly ! *about in London*.

ly unknown in *England*, which he left in the cradle: his father's friends are moſt of them dead, the reſt antiquated or poor. Six and twenty years have almoſt paſſed ſince the *revolution*, and the bulk of thoſe who are now moſt in action either at court, in parliament, or public offices, were then boys at ſchool or the univerſities, and look upon that great change to have happened during a period of time for which they are not accountable. The logic of the higheſt tories is now, that this was the eſtabliſhment they found, as ſoon as they arrived to a capacity of judging; that they had no hand in turning out the late king, and therefore have no crime to anſwer for, if it were any: that the inheritance to the crown is fixed in purſuance of laws made ever ſince their remembrance, by which all papiſts are excluded, and they have no other rule to go by: that they will no more diſpute king *William* the *third*'s title, than king *William* the *firſt*'s; ſince they muſt have recourſe to hiſtory for both: that they have been inſtructed in the doctrines of paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, and hereditary right, and find them all neceſſary for preſerving the preſent eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate, and for continuing the ſucceſſion in the houſe of *Hanover*, and muſt in their own opinion renounce all thoſe doctrines by ſetting up any other title to the crown. This, I ſay, ſeems to be the political creed of all high-principled men I have for ſome time met with of forty years old and under; which although I do not pretend to juſtify

juſtify in every part, yet I am ſure it
proteſtant ſucceſſion upon a much
foundation, than all the indigeſted ſch
thoſe who profeſs to act upon what t
revolution-principles.

Neither ſhould it perhaps be ſoon for
that during the licentiouſneſs of th
while the ſacred character of the qu
every day inſulted in factious papers a
lads, not the leaſt reflecting inſinuati
appeared againſt the *Hanover* family,
ever occaſion was offered to intempera
by the raſhneſs or indiſcretion of one
miniſters from thence.

From all theſe conſiderations I mu
fore lay it down as an unconteſtabl
that the ſucceſſion to theſe kingdom
illuſtrious houſe of *Hanover* is as fir
cured as the nature of the thing can
admit; by the oaths of all thoſe who
truſted with any office, by the very pr
of thoſe who are termed the *high-ch*
the general inclinations of the people,
inſignificancy of that perſon who c

:t queſtion is how to give rea-
ction to his highneſs, and (what
f greater conſequence) at the
ſult the honour and ſafety of
ioſe quiet *poſſeſſion* is of much
ence to us of the preſent age,
ſion. The ſubſtance of his *me-*
:tain it right, is to deſire that
s family might live in *England*,
ntenance as is uſual to thoſe of
d, and that certain *titles* ſhould
ıpon the reſt according to an-
The *memorial* doth not ſpecify
family ſhould be invited to re-
l, if it had, I believe however
ould have looked upon it as a
:ft to her own choice.
this is moſt manifeſtly unne-
, and only in compliance with
doubts of a preſumptive heir;
vould (to ſpeak in the language
) EXPECT, that her majeſty
de perfectly eaſy from that ſide
:; no more to be alarmed with
of *viſits*, or *demands of writs*,
ıth not thought fit to give any
The nation would likewiſe *ex-*
e ſhould be an end of all pri-

ıtz, envoy extraordinary from the
er, demanding a *writ* for the electo-
n the houſe of peers as duke of *Cam-*
as expected that his highneſs would
t to the court of London.

)ME FREE THOUGHTS UPON

ommerce between that court and the
's of a party here; and that his elec-
bigbneſs ſhould declare himſelf intirely
ied with all her majeſty's proceedings,
treaties of peace and commerce, her alli-
es abroad, her choice of miniſters at home,
particularly in her moſt gracious conde-
ſions to his requeſt: that he would upon
proper occaſions, and in the moſt public
anner, diſcover his utter diſlike of factious
erſons and principles, but eſpecially of that
arty, which under the pretence or ſhelter of
is protection hath ſo long diſquieted the king-
dom: and laſtly, that he would acknowledge
the goodneſs of the queen, and juſtice of the
nation, in ſo fully ſecuring the ſucceſſion to
his family.

It is indeed a problem which I could never
comprehend, why the court of *Hanover*, who
have all along thought themſelves ſo perfect-
ly ſecure in the affections, the principles, and
the profeſſions of the *low-church* party, ſhould
not have endeavoured, according to the uſua
politics of princes, to gain over thoſe wh
were repreſented as their enemies; ſince the
ſuppoſed enemies had made ſo many adva
ces, were in poſſeſſion of all the power, h
framed the very ſettlement to which that
luſtrious family owes its claim; had all
them abjured the pretender; were now
ployed in the great offices of the ſtate,
compoſed a majority in both houſes of
liament. Not to mention, that the

herſelf, with the bulk of the landed gentry and commonalty throughout the kingdom, were of the number. This one would think might be a ſtrength ſufficient not only to *obſtruct* but to *beſtow* a ſucceſſion: and ſince the preſumed heir could not but be perfectly ſecure of the other party, whoſe greateſt avowed grievance was the pretended danger of his future rights; it might therefore ſurely have been worth his while to have made at leaſt one ſtep towards cultivating a fair correſpondence with the power in poſſeſſion. Neither could thoſe, who are called his friends, have blamed him, or with the leaſt decency enter into any engagements for defeating his title.

But why may not the reaſons of this proceeding in the *elector* be directly contrary to what is commonly imagined? Methinks I could endeavour to believe, that his highneſs is thoroughly acquainted with both parties; is convinced, that no true member of the church of *England* can eaſily be ſhaken in his principles of loyalty, or forget the obligation of an oath by any provocation. That *theſe* are therefore the people he intends to rely upon, and keeps only fair with the *others* from a *true* notion he hath of their doctrines, which prompt them to forget their duty upon every motive of intereſt or ambition. If this conjecture be right, his highneſs cannot ſure but entertain a very high eſteem of ſuch miniſters, who continue to act under the dread and appearance of a ſuc-

ſſor's utmoſt diſpleaſure, and the threats of n enraged faction, whom he is ſuppoſed a- one to favour, and to be guided intirely in his judgment of *Britiſh* affairs and perſons by their opinions.

But to return from this diſgreſſion: the preſence of that infant prince * among us could not, I think, in any ſort be inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the queen; he would be in no danger of being corrupted in his principles, or expoſed in his perſon by vicious companions; he could be at the head of no factious clubs and cabals, nor be attended by a hired rabble, which his flatterers might repreſent as a popularity. He would have none of that impatience which the frailty of human nature gives to expecting heirs. There would be no pretence for men to make their court by affecting *German* modes and *refinements* in dreſs or behaviour: nor would there be an occaſion of inſinuating to him, how much more his levee was frequented, than the anti-chambers of St. *James*'s. Add to all this the advantages of being educated in our religion, laws, language, manners, nature of the government, each ſo very different from thoſe he would leave behind. By which likewiſe he might be highly uſeful to his father, if that prince ſhould happen to ſurvive her majeſty.

Tt

* The infant prince was the ſon of the elector prince of *Hanover*, who might be choſen to reſ *here in* conſequence of the memorial.

The late king *William*, who, after his marriage with the lady *Mary* of *England*, could have no probable expectation of the crown, and very little even of being a queen's husband (the duke of *York* having a young wife) was no ſtranger to our language or manners, and went often to the chapel of his princeſs; which I obſerve rather, becauſe I could heartily wiſh the like diſpoſition were in another court, and becauſe it may be diſagreeable to a prince to take up new doctrines on a ſudden, or ſpeak to his ſubjects by an interpreter.

An ill-natured or inquiſitive man may ſtill, perhaps, deſire to preſs the queſtion further by aſking, what is to be done, in caſe it ſhould ſo happen, that this malevolent working party at home hath credit enough with the court of *Hanover* to continue the ſuſpicion, jealouſy, and uneaſineſs there againſt the queen and her miniſtry; to make ſuch demands be ſtill inſiſted on, as are by no means thought proper to be complied with; and in the mean time to ſtand at arm's length with her majeſty, and in cloſe conjunction with thoſe who oppoſe her?

I take the anſwer to be eaſy: in all conteſts the ſafeſt way is to put thoſe, we diſpute with, as much *in the wrong* as we can. When her majeſty ſhall have offered ſuch or the like conceſſions as I have above mentioned, in order to remove thoſe ſcruples artificially raiſed in the mind of the expectant heir,

and to divide him from that faction by which he is ſuppoſed to have been miſled; ſhe hath done as much as any prince can do, and more than any other would probably do in her caſe; and will be juſtified before God and man, whatever be the event. The equitable part of thoſe, who now ſide againſt the court, will probably be more temperate; and, if a due diſpatch be made in placing the civil and military power in the hands of ſuch as wiſh well to the conſtitution, it cannot be any way for the quiet or intereſt of a ſucceſſor to gratify ſo ſmall a faction, as will probably then remain, at the expence of a much more numerous and conſiderable part of his ſubjects. Neither do I ſee how the principles of ſuch a party, either in religion or government, will prove very agreeable, becauſe I think *Luther* and *Calvin* ſeem to have differed as much as any two among the reformers: and becauſe a *German* prince will probably be ſuſpicious of thoſe, who think they can never depreſs the prerogative enough.

But ſuppoſing, once for all, as far as poſſible, that the *elector* ſhould utterly refuſe to be upon any terms of confidence with the preſent miniſtry, and all others of their principles, as enemies to him and the ſucceſſion; nor eaſy with the queen her ſelf: but upon ſuch conditions as will not be thought *conſiſtent with her ſafety and honour*; and continue to place all his hopes and truſt in the diſ-

diſcontented party. I think it were humbly to be wiſhed, that, whenever the ſucceſſion ſhall take place, the alterations intended by the new prince ſhould be made by *himſelf*, and not by his *deputies*: becauſe I am of opinion, that the clauſe impowering the ſucceſſor to appoint a *latent unlimited* number, additional to the ſeveral *regents* named in the *act*, went upon a ſuppoſition, that the *ſecret committee* would be of ſuch, whoſe enmity and contrary principles diſpoſed them to confound the reſt. King *William*, whoſe title was much more controverted than that of her majeſty's ſucceſſor can ever probably be, did for ſeveral years leave the adminiſtration of the kingdom in the hands of lords juſtices, during the heighth of a war, and while the abdicated prince himſelf was frequently attempting an invaſion: from whence one might imagine, that the regents appointed by parliament upon the demiſe of the crown would be able to keep the peace during an abſence of a *few* weeks without any *colleagues*. However, I am pretty confident that the only reaſon, why a power was given of chuſing *dormant* viceroys, was to take away all pretence of a neceſſity to invite over *any* of the family here, during her majeſty's life. So that I do not well apprehend what arguments the *elector* can uſe to inſiſt upon *both*.

To conclude; the only way of ſecuring the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and conſequently this very proteſtant ſucceſſion itſelf, will

will be by leſſening the power of our
adverſaries as much as can poſſibly con
the lenity of our government; and, if
not ſpeedily done, it will be eaſy t
where the nation is to fix the blame:
are well aſſured, that, ſince the acco
majeſty received of the cabals, the tri
the inſolent behaviour of the whole
during her late illneſs at *Windſor*, ſh
been as willing to ſee them deprive
power to do miſchief, as any of her ma
ous and loyal ſubjects can deſire.

THO

THOUGHTS

ON

VARIOUS SUBJECTS.

WE have juſt enough religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.

Reflect on things paſt, as wars, negociations, factions, *&c.* we enter ſo little into thoſe intereſts, that we wonder how men could poſſibly be ſo buſy and concerned for things ſo tranſitory; look on the preſent times, we find the ſame humour, yet wonder not at all.

A wiſe man endeavours, by conſidering all circumſtances, to make conjectures, and form concluſions; but the ſmalleſt accident intervening (and, in the courſe of affairs, it is impoſſible to foreſee all) does often produce ſuch turns and changes, that at laſt he is juſt as much in doubt of events as the moſt ignorant and unexperienced perſon.

Poſitiveneſs is a good quality for preachers and orators, becauſe he that would obtrude his thoughts and reaſons upon a multitude will convince others the more, as he appears convinced himſelf.

How is it poſſible to expect that mankind will take advice, when they will not ſo much as take warning?

I forget whether advice be among the loſt things, which *Ariſto* ſays are to be found in

the moon; that and time ought to have l
there.

No preacher is liſtened to but time, w
gives us the ſame train and turn of thou
that elder people have tried in vain to
into our heads before.

When we deſire or ſollicit any thing,
minds run wholly on the good ſide or circ
ſtances of it; when it is obtained, our m
run wholly on the bad ones.

In a *glaſs-houſe* the workmen often
in a ſmall quantity of freſh coals, w
ſeems to diſturb the fire, but very much
livens it. This ſeems to allude to a gentle
ring of the paſſions, that the mind may
languiſh.

Religion ſeems to have grown an i
with age, and requires miracles to nurt
as it had in its infancy.

All fits of pleaſure are balanced by a
qual degree of pain or languor; it is
ſpending this year part of the next year'
venue.

The latter part of a wiſe man's life is t
up in curing the follies, prejudices, and
opinions he had contracted in the former

Would a writer know how to behave
ſelf with relation to poſterity, let him c
der in old books what he finds that he is
to know, and what omiſſions he mo
ments.

Whatever the poets pretend, it it
they give immortality to none but themſe
it is Homer and *Virgil* we reverence an

mire, not *Achilles* or *Æneas*. With hiſtorians it is quite the contrary; our thoughts are taken up with the actions, perſons, and events we read, and we little regard the authors.

When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by this ſign, that the dunces are in confederacy againſt him.

Men who poſſeſs all advantages of life, are in a ſtate where there are many accidents to diſorder and diſcompoſe, but few to pleaſe them.

It is unwiſe to puniſh cowards with ignominy; for, if they had regarded that, they would not have been cowards; death is their proper puniſhment, becauſe they fear it moſt.

The greateſt inventions were produced in the times of ignorance; as the uſe of the *compaſs*, *gunpowder*, and *printing*; and by the dulleſt nation, as the *Germans*.

One argument to prove that the common relations of *ghoſts* and *ſpectres* are generally falſe, may be drawn from the opinion held, that ſpirits are never ſeen by more than one perſon at a time; that is to ſay, it ſeldom happens to above one perſon in a company to be poſſeſſed with any high degree of ſpleen or melancholy.

I am apt to think, that in the day of judgment there will be ſmall allowance given to the wiſe for their want of morals, and to the ignorant for their want of faith, becauſe both are without excuſe. This renders the advantages equal of ignorance and knowledge. But

ſome

ſome ſcruples in the wiſe, and ſome vices in the ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven upon the ſtrength of temptation to each.

The value of ſeveral circumſtances in ſtory leſſens very much by diſtance of time, though ſome minute circumſtances are very valuable; and it requires great judgment in a writer to diſtinguiſh.

It is grown a word of courſe for writers to ſay, This critical age, as divines ſay, This ſinful age.

It is pleaſant to obſerve how free the preſent age is in laying taxes on the next: *Future ages ſhall talk of this; this ſhall be famous to all poſterity:* whereas their time and thoughts will be taken up about preſent things, as ours are now.

The *camelion*, who is ſaid to feed upon nothing but air, hath of all animals the nimbleſt tongue.

When a man is made a ſpiritual peer, he loſes his ſirname; when a temporal, his chriſtian name.

It is in diſputes as in armies, where the weaker ſide ſets up falſe lights, and makes a great noiſe, to make the enemy believe them more numerous and ſtrong than they really are.

Some men, under the notions of weeding out prejudices, eradicate virtue, honeſty, and religion.

In all well-inſtituted commonwealths, care has been taken to limit mens poſſeſſions; which is done for many reaſons, and, among

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the reſt, for one which perhaps is not often conſidered, that, when bounds are ſet to mens deſires, after they have acquired as much as the laws permit them, their private intereſt is at an end, and they have nothing to do but to take care of the public.

There are but three ways for a man to revenge himſelf of the cenſure of the world; to deſpiſe it, to return the like, or to endeavour to live ſo as to avoid it: the firſt of theſe is uſually pretended, the laſt is almoſt impoſſible, the univerſal practice is for the ſecond.

Herodotus tells us, that in cold countries beaſts very ſeldom have horns, but in hot they have very large ones. This might bear a pleaſant application.

I never heard a finer piece of ſatire againſt *lawyers*, than that of *aſtrologers*, when they pretend by rules of art to tell when a ſuit will end, and whether to the advantage of the plaintiff or defendant; thus making the matter depend intirely upon the influence of the ſtars, without the leaſt regard to the merits of the cauſe.

The expreſſion in *Apocrypha* about *Tobit* and his dog following him I have often heard ridiculed, yet *Homer* has the ſame words of *Telemachus* more than once; and *Virgil* ſays ſomething like it of *Evander*. And I take the book of *Tobit* to be partly poetical.

I have known ſome men poſſeſſed of good qualities, which were very ſerviceable to others, but uſeleſs to themſelves; like a ſun-dial on the front of a houſe, to inform

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the neighbours and paſſengers, but not th owner within.

If a man would regiſter all his opinions up on love, politics, religion, learning, *etc.* be ginning from his youth and ſo go on to old age, what a bundle of inconſiſtencies and con tradictions would appear at laſt?

What they do in heaven we are ignoran of; what they do not we are told expreſly that they neither marry, nor are given in mar riage.

When a man obſerves the choice of ladie now-a-days in the diſpenſing of their fa vours, can he forbear paying ſome veneratio to the memory of thoſe mares mentioned b *Xenophon* *, who, while their manes were on that is, while they were in their beauty, woul never admit the embraces of an aſs.

It is a miſerable thing to live in ſuſpence it is the life of a ſpider.

Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba, dixit.
Ovid Metam

The ſtoical ſcheme of ſupplying our wan by lopping off our deſires, is like cutting o our feet when we want ſhoes.

Phyſicians ought not to give their judg ment of religion, for the ſame reaſon th butchers are not admitted to be jurors upo life and death.

The reaſon, why ſo few marriages are hap py, is becauſe young ladies ſpend their tim in making nets, not in making cages.

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* De Re Equeſtri.

If a man will obſerve as he walks the ſtreets, I believe he will find the merrieſt countenances in mourning coaches.

Nothing more unqualifies a man to act with prudence, than a misfortune that is attended with ſhame and guilt.

The power of fortune is confeſſed only by the miſerable; for the happy impute all their ſucceſs to prudence or merit.

Ambition often puts men upon doing the meaneſt offices; ſo climbing is performed in the ſame poſture with creeping.

Ill company is like a dog, who dirts thoſe moſt whom he loves beſt.

Cenſure is the tax a man pays to the public for being eminent.

Although men are accuſed for not knowing their own weakneſs, yet perhaps as few know their own ſtrength. It is in men as in foils, where ſometimes there is a vein of gold which the owner knows not of.

Satire is reckoned the eaſieſt of all wit; but I take it to be otherwiſe in very bad times: for it is as hard to ſatiriſe well a man of diſtinguiſhed vices, as to praiſe well a man of diſtinguiſhed virtues. It is eaſy enough to do either to people of moderate characters.

Invention is the talent of youth, and judgment of age; ſo that our judgment grows harder to pleaſe, when we have fewer things to offer it: this goes through the whole commerce of life. When we are old, our friends find it difficult to pleaſe us, and

are leſs concerned whether we be pleaſed no.

No wiſe man ever wiſhed to be younge

An idle reaſon leſſens the weight of good ones you gave before.

The motives of the beſt actions will bear too ſtrict an inquiry. It is allowed, the cauſe of moſt actions, good or bad, be reſolved into the love of ourſelves; but ſelf-love of ſome men inclines them to p others; and the ſelf-love of others is wh employed in pleaſing themſelves. This m the great diſtinction between virtue and Religion is the beſt motive of all actions, religion is allowed to be the higheſt inſt of ſelf-love.

When the world has once begun to ul ill, it afterwards continues the ſame ti ment with leſs ſcruple or ceremony, as do to a whore.

Old men view beſt at a diſtance with eyes of their underſtanding as well as thoſe of nature.

Some people take more care to hide t wiſdom than their folly.

Arbitrary power is the natural objec temptation to a prince, as wine or wome a young fellow, or a bribe to a judge avarice to old-age, or vanity to a woman

Anthony Henly's farmer, dying of an *aſth* ſaid, well, if I can get this breath once I'll take care it ſhall never get *in* again.

The humour of exploding many thi under the name of trifles, fopperies, and c

inn

ary goods, is a very falſe proof either
om or magnanimity, and a great check
ious actions. For inſtance, with re-
fame: there is in moſt people a reluc-
nd unwillingneſs to be forgotten. We
, even among the vulgar, how fond
: to have an inſcription over their grave.
res but little philoſophy to diſcover and
that there is no intrinſic value in all
owever, if it be founded in our na-
: an incitement to virtue, it ought not
diculed.

plaint is the largeſt tribute heaven re-
and the ſincereſt part of our devotion.
common fluency of ſpeech in many
nd moſt women, is owing to a ſcarcity
er, and a ſcarcity of words; for who-
a maſter of language, and hath a mind
ideas, will be apt in ſpeaking to heſi-
on the choice of both; whereas com-
akers have only one ſet of ideas, and
of words to cloath them in; and theſe
ays ready at the mouth: ſo people
ſter out of a church when it is almoſt
than when a croud is at the door.

are qualified to *ſhine* in company; but
moſt mens power to be agreeable.
ſon therefore, why converſation runs
it preſent, is not the defect of under-
; but pride, vanity, ill-nature, affec-
ingularity, poſitiveneſs, or ſome other
e effect of a wrong education.

e vain is rather a mark of humility
de. Vain men delight in telling what
honours

honours have been done them, what great company they have kept, and the like, by which they plainly confeſs that theſe honours were more than their due, and ſuch as their friends would not believe if they had not been told: whereas a man truly proud thinks the greateſt honours below his merit, and conſequently ſcorns to boaſt. I therefore deliver it as a maxim, that whoever deſires the character of a proud man, ought to conceal his vanity.

Law, in a free country, is, or ought to be, the determination of the majority of thoſe who have property in land.

One argument, uſed to the diſadvantage of providence, I take to be a very ſtrong one in its defence. It is objected, that ſtorms and tempeſts, unfruitful ſeaſons, ſerpents, ſpiders, flies, and other noxious or troubleſome animals, with many more inſtances of the like kind, diſcover an imperfection in nature, becauſe human life would be much eaſier without them: but the deſign of providence may clearly be perceived in this proceeding. The motions of the ſun and moon; in ſhort, the whole ſyſtem of the univerſe, as far as philoſophers have been able to diſcover and obſerve, are in the utmoſt degree of regularity and perfection; but, wherever God hath left to man the power of interpoſing a remedy by thought or labour, there he hath placed things in a ſtate of imperfection on purpoſe to ſtir up human induſtry, without which life would ſtag-

ſtagnate, or indeed rather could not ſubſiſt at all: *Curis accuunt mortalia corda.*

Praiſe is the daughter of preſent power.

How inconſiſtent is man with himſelf?

I have known ſeveral perſons of great fame for wiſdom in public affairs and councils governed by fooliſh ſervants.

I have known great miniſters, diſtinguiſhed for wit and learning, who preferred none but dunces.

I have known men of great valour cowards to their wives.

I have known men of the greateſt cunning perpetually cheated.

I have known three great miniſters, who could exactly compute and ſettle the accompts of a kingdom, but were wholly ignorant of their own œconomy.

The preaching of divines helps to preſerve well-inclined men in the courſe of virtue, but ſeldom or never reclaims the vicious.

Princes uſually make wiſer choices than the ſervants whom they truſt for the diſpoſal of places: I have known a prince, more than once, chuſe an able miniſter: but I never obſerved that miniſter to uſe his credit in the diſpoſal of an employment to a perſon whom he thought the fitteſt for it. One of the greateſt in this age owned and excuſed the matter from the violence of parties, and the unreaſonableneſs of friends.

Small cauſes are ſufficient to make a man uneaſy, when great ones are not in the way: for want of a *block* he will ſtumble at a *ſtraw*.

Dignity, high ſtation, or great riches in ſome ſort neceſſary to old men, in order keep the younger at a diſtance, who are o wiſe too apt to inſult them upon the ſco their age.

Every man deſires to live long; but no m would be old.

Love of flattery in moſt men proceeds fr the mean opinion they have of themſelv in women from the contrary.

If books and laws continue to increaſe they have done for fifty years paſt, I am ſome concern for future ages, how any m will be learned, or any man a lawyer.

Kings are commonly ſaid to have *long han* I wiſh they had as *long ears*.

Princes in their infancy, childhood, a youth, are ſaid to diſcover prodigious pa and wit, to ſpeak things that ſurpriſe a aſtoniſh: ſtrange, ſo many hopeful princ ſo many ſhameful kings! If they happen die young, they would have been prodig of wiſdom and virtue: if they live, they a often prodigies indeed, but of another ſort.

Politics, as the word is commonly unde ſtood, are nothing but corruptions, and co ſequently of no uſe to a good king, or a go miniſtry; for which reaſon courts are ſo ove run with politics.

Silenus, the foſter-father of *Bacchus*, is a ways carried by an *aſs*, and has horns on h head. The moral is, that drunkards are l by fools, and have a great chance to be cuc olds.

Ven

Venus, a beautiful good-natured lady, was goddeſs of love; *Juno*, a terrible ſhrew, the goddeſs of marriage: and they were always mortal enemies.

Thoſe who are againſt religion, muſt needs be fools; and therefore we read that, of all animals, God refuſed the *firſt* born of an aſs.

A very little wit is valued in a woman, as we are pleaſed with a few words ſpoken plain by a parrot.

A nice man is a man of naſty ideas.

Apollo was held the God of phyſic, and ſender of diſeaſes. Both were originally the ſame trade, and ſtill continue.

Old men and comets have been reverenced for the ſame reaſon; their long beards, and pretences to foretell events.

A perſon was aſked at court, what he thought of an ambaſſador, and his train, who were all embroidery and lace, full of bows, cringes, and geſtures; he ſaid, it was *Solomon*'s importation, *Gold and apes*.

There is a ſtory in *Pauſanias* of a plot for betraying of a city diſcovered by the braying of an *aſs*: the cackling of *geeſe* ſaved the *capitol*, and *Catiline*'s conſpiracy was diſcovered by a *whore*. Theſe are the only three animals, as far as I remember, famous in hiſtory as *evidences* and *informers*.

Moſt ſorts of diverſion in men, children, and other animals, are an imitation of fighting.

Auguſtus meeting an *aſs* with a *lucky name* foretold himſelf good fortune. I meet many aſſes, but none of them have lucky names.

If a man makes me keep my diſtance, the comfort is, he keeps his at the ſame time.

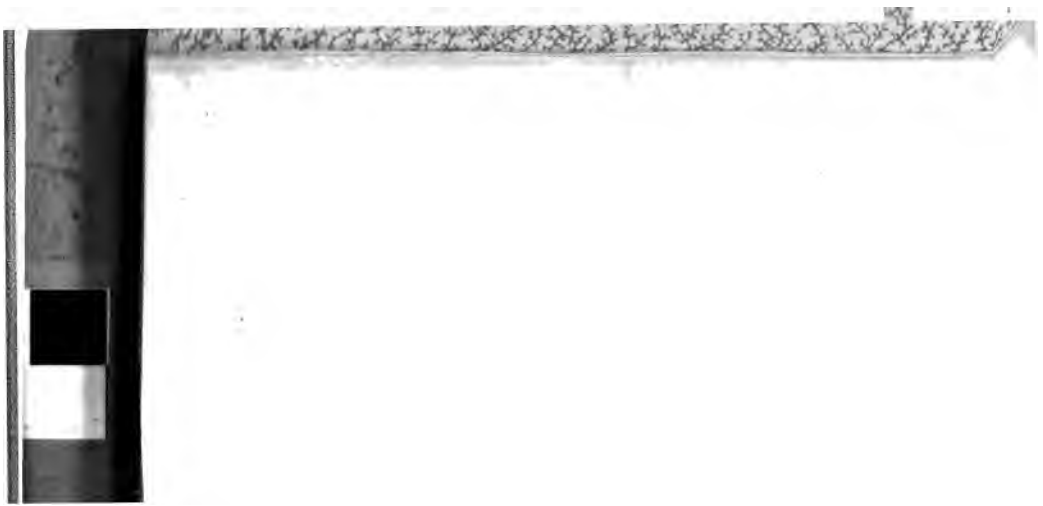
Who can deny that all men are violent lovers of truth, when we ſee them ſo poſitive in their errors, which they will maintain out of their zeal to truth, although they contradict themſelves every day of their lives?

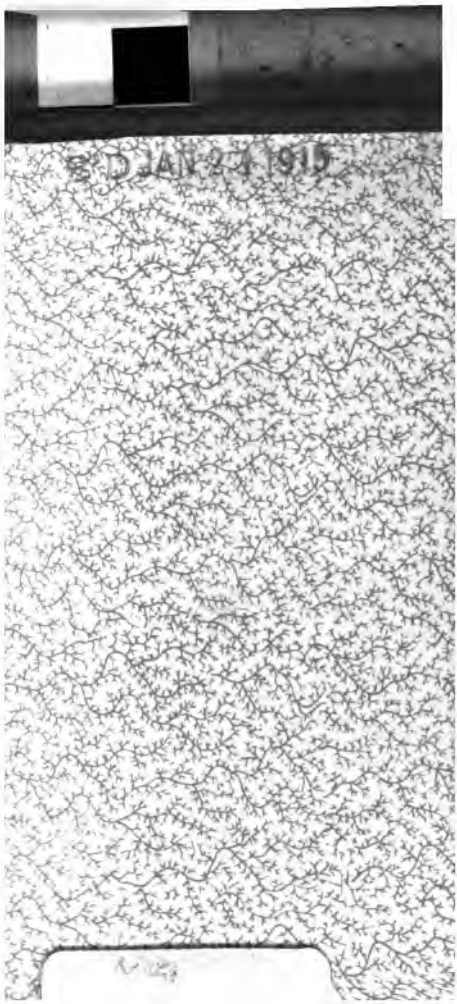
That was excellently obſerved, ſay I, when I read a paſſage in an author, where his opinion agrees with mine. When we differ, there I pronounce him to be *miſtaken*.

Very few men, properly ſpeaking, live at preſent, but are providing to live another time.

As univerſal a practice as lying is, and as eaſy one as it ſeems, I do not remember to have heard three good lyars in all my converſation, even from thoſe who were moſt celebrated in that faculty.

End of the THIRD VOLUME.

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